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THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

New York Legislative Service.—A New York Legislative Service will be issued weekly during the coming legislative session by the National Municipal League in coöperation with the legislative committee of the Citizens Union of New York.

The service will be a digest of legislative information consisting of a one-page review of the events of the week and of detailed summaries under special headings of every bill, not purely sectional in character, introduced during the week. Information as to the sponsorship and history of the bill will be added, and its status reported as it progresses.

In order that the service be non-partisan and impartial no attempt will be made to evaluate bills in the main sections of the service. Under the heading "opinion" organizations will be quoted which have studied and taken official action on certain measures.

The service will be distributed at a nominal cost to business houses, civic groups, institutions and individuals throughout the state.

* * *

A Word of Appreciation.—Appreciation is due the speakers and round table participants on the program of the fortieth annual meeting of the National Municipal League at Pittsburgh who were responsible in large measure for the success of the meeting. But a word also is due the host of members of the League who had sufficient interest and enthusiasm for the work of the organization and the problems under discussion to travel hundreds of miles to be present.

* * *

You and Your Government Broadcasts.—The last three addresses in Series Nine of YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT radio programs on "Trends in Government" are as follows:

January 15—"Government Personnel." L. D. Coffman, President, University of Minnesota; Chairman, Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel.

January 22—"Federal Help in Local Refinancing" William Hard, Publicist.

January 29—"Taxation for Prosperity." Colonel Willard Chevalier, Vice-President, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company; Harold S. Buttenheim, Editor, *The American City Magazine.*

Series Ten, entitled "The 44 State Legislatures of 1935," will begin February 5. Copies of the new program may be secured from the League's office. Following are the first speakers with their subjects:

February 5—"The One-House Legislature." Hon. George W. Norris, United States Senator from Nebraska.

February 12—"Government of the People." Hon. John G. Winant, Governor of New Hampshire.

February 19—"Simplification of Local Government." Hon. Seabury C. Mastick, formerly New York State Senator; Howard P. Jones, Secretary, National Municipal League.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

Editorial Comment

January

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

Vol. XXIV, No. 1 Total No. 223

The Grand Canyon of Ignorance

THE gap between what the experts know and what they can get the public to accept: wherever problems of governmental reorganization and the professionalization of the public service are discussed, it is this great breach that inevitably becomes the final focus of the conversation. It is perhaps the crux of the democratic dilemma. The experts stand on one side of the yawning grand canyon of ignorance wondering how to reach the other side where even loftier heights may be seen through the haze.

Why, for example, does practice in city management lag behind theory in many cities when it comes to substantial achievement? We can start, we believe, with the assumption that, as Clarence E. Ridley, executive director of the International City Managers' Association, pointed out at the fortieth annual conference of the National Municipal League, "city managers are the keystone of the hope of developing a professionalized administrative service and constitute the one great hope of abolishing the spoils system." Nevertheless, just as we can point to any number of cities where results have outdistanced even the hopes of supporters of city management, we must also recognize there are many places where progress is being made haltingly.

"It is the human equation," in the opinion of City Manager Paul A. Volcker of Teaneck, N. J. "The problem is to bring the public to a point where it will accept what the manager knows should be done and wants to do." And so we return to a recognition of human ignorance as the reason for our trouble. There is only one way in which ignorance can be dispelled and that is through enlightenment and there is only one way in which enlightenment on this subject may be obtained and that is by widespread dissemination of facts and principles that have emerged in the laboratories of democracy during the past quarter of a century.

"Oh, but now you're talking about education," the cynic replies, "and that takes a generation. Be practical!" Yes, we're talking about education but we're talking about education *now*. We're talking about showing the taxpayer why his tax bills are too high, we're talking about showing Mr. Citizen *why* he doesn't get what he wants when he wants it, and we're suggesting that he can do something about it if he will.

Education? Yes. But education *now* to result in *governmental action*

next week, next month or next year! This type of education means organization!

Here is no philosophical speculation for leisurely consideration in academic groves. Here is instead a job for citizens to tackle by getting together, and discussing and studying and planning and *doing*. A sound governmental program, based on recognized principles and adapted to local needs, not only can be drafted by groups of citizens in every community in this country—it can actually be carried out. We need a new realization of the power of each person in a democracy; it is a power long capitalized on by political machines. One voter may seem weak and defenceless but two voters are more than twice as strong as one voter and twenty voters with faith and courage and knowledge can win elections!

Along the Governmental Battle Front

IF THOSE interested in improving government in America are inclined to feel pessimistic as they look ahead to the mountain they still must climb, a retrospective glance at the year 1934 should do much to cheer them. If there were no more victory than the revolt of citizens of New York City who threw off the yoke of Tammany Hall and established in office a non-partisan administration which may make mistakes, of course, but which nevertheless is substituting non-partisanship for partisanship and honesty of intent for the motive power of corruption, that of itself would be enough. Fusion has finished its first year, and by and large, it has been a good year. But that's another story and there's much more to this one.

Six cities and one county adopted the manager plan during the last year. More significant still, eleven cities where politicians stirred up elections to decide whether to abandon the plan, voted to retain it! At the present time, there are campaigns under way for adoption of the plan in twenty-five cities. More than 110 other cities in 33 states are interested and studying the plan. And interest in the manager plan is a fairly good criteria of the state of citizen interest in better government.

But of all the encouraging signs on the horizon, the progress in the field of county government, that last and well-fortified trench of the old gang, is perhaps of most significance.

Tremendous strides have been made in laying the ground work for future local government reorganization in the period covered by this report.

Douglas County, Nebraska, adopted the county manager plan at the recent November election. The plan is now being considered by more than ten counties in eight states. More than a dozen other counties are taking steps to reorganize their governmental set-up.

In Ohio four out of the eight counties voting this November on the question of creating charter commissions to frame home rule charters under the recently adopted constitutional amendment decided the question affirmatively. All of these commissions will undoubtedly give serious consideration to the county manager form of government. Murray Seasongood, our president, was elected a member of the Hamilton County charter commission, receiving the highest vote of any of the thirty-one candidates.

Perhaps the most unfortunate result of this past election was the failure of Michigan voters to adopt the county home rule amendment submitted to them for approval. Texas voters also

failed to pass a constitutional home rule amendment which would have permitted the legislature to combine counties with certain limitations; also another amendment which would have abolished the fee system of compensation for county officers in counties of twenty thousand or more population.

Legislative commissions are studying the question of county reorganization in Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, New York, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Tennessee, and committees of state-wide organizations in Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, and New Jersey are making studies of their county government with a view to reorganization in their respective states.

There are many other changes of importance which have taken place under our eyes, too numerous to list here. Not the least important is the adoption by the state of Nebraska after a vigorous campaign by Senator Norris of a constitutional amendment providing for a unicameral legislature. For many years, the League has been advocating this modernization of our legislative mechanism. Nebraska is the first state to adopt the recommendation.

The year 1934 was a year of struggle, of depression and renewed hope, of fermentation, of challenge and of newly formed convictions. It was a momentous year from all standpoints but particularly for those concerned with the problem of "making democracy democ."

A Boomerang Hits Omaha Politicians

One of the specious arguments most commonly raised against the adoption of the manager plan by its opponents in their frantic search for campaign ammunition, is the charge the plan will establish a "dictator in our city." Fallacious, of course, since the council can fire the manager whenever it pleases. Nevertheless, the argument has frequently made votes for the opposition quarters where the charge was heard but not answered.

Imagine, therefore, the astonishment of politicians in Douglas County, Nebraska, which has just adopted the manager plan by an overwhelming vote, when the Italian wards of Omaha voted enthusiastically for the plan after having seen a widely distributed circular saying "Vote No!—unless you want a dictator in Douglas County!"

* * *

Larger Units for Libraries

The general trend toward larger units of administration was emphasized at the Pittsburgh conference in the endorsement by the library round table of a study of each state to determine the type and size of the proper area for library administration. Present areas generally are too small, it was felt, the search being in the direction of a region large enough to give adequate revenue from a reasonable tax levy, but small enough to permit localized supervision and service, according to Ralph Munn, director of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh and chairman of the round table.

At first glance, a library service would seem to be in the category of neighborhood services to be best administered in small areas. In that respect it is like public welfare or education. But the range of our vision is expanding. We are beginning to see that small areas curtail opportunity for large social service. They make little services cost much and stand in the way of big services. If the depression had done nothing else than widen our horizons in this respect, it might have been justified as "the ugly toad which yet wears a jewel in its head."

(Continued on Page 56)

HEADLINES

Undismayed by the defeat of their constitutional amendment in the last election, local government enthusiasts in Michigan already are planning to carry on their fourteen-year-old campaign for county reorganization more vigorously than ever. To lack of funds and to public misunderstanding of the issues, the recent adverse vote is attributed, and the Detroit Citizens League advises state-wide money raising and educational campaigns as preliminary to further effort.

* * *

John Elsey Chatterton of Field House, Horncastle, England, completes his sixtieth year of continuous public service, beginning his municipal employment at the age of twelve, and advancing from post to post in the same department ever since. The *Municipal Journal and Public Works Engineer,* London, believes that this is a record, and wants to know if any municipality in the English-speaking world can beat it.

* * *

Ontario establishes a new department of Municipal Affairs with a cabinet minister in charge. Local public works and welfare promotion are to be its focal interests.

* * *

According to the Chicago *Daily News,* if a taxpayer's income is $2,080 a year, or even somewhat less, he will now pay some $480 a year in taxes. Of this amount $120 will be hidden in the rent, $96 in food purchases, $24 in the cost of furniture and other replacement expenses, and not less than $240 in the various other indirect taxes which we pay in the daily course of living.

* * *

Frederic C. Howe, Consumer's Counsel of the United States Department of Agriculture, now advocates milk control and distribution as a necessary municipal function, in addition to the sanitary regulation that cities customarily exercise. He holds that this could be a solution of the problem of getting "more milk to more people at prices they can pay."

* * *

Legislative councils of public officials and legislators, whose function it is to plan comprehensive programs in advance of legislative sessions, are gaining in popularity as the pioneers in this idea prove its worth. Kansas has forwarded the work of its legislatures in this way for two years. Wisconsin and Michigan both have similar bodies. This year Nebraska tries the experiment for the first time. Virginia, among several other states, is considering the same method.

E. M. B.

What 6,620 Legislators Are Thinking About

A reading of the lifelines of 42 legislatures which convene this month

HENRY W. TOLL *Executive Director, American Legislators' Association*

TO FORESEE the matters which will require most of the attention of the 6,620 state legislators gathered this month in forty-two state capitols requires no prophetic power, no magic crystal. It is apparent that taxation and unemployment relief will rate the two top lines on most legislative calendars. Since the states' problem of relief is largely a problem of adequate governmental revenues, we can be assured that the most remarkable rabbit to be drawn from each of the forty-two gilt-topped hats will be labeled, "Taxes". This is a euphemistic way of saying that the word "relief", translated into the legislators' vocabulary, is "taxation".

With the aid of letters from legislators in most of the states, with a file of the recent issues of *State Government* for reference purposes, and with the personal assistance of Mr. David W. Robinson, I have attempted to present in this article an observer's balloon-eye-view of the legislative battle-front.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

This year the legislators will probably consider the financing of unemployment relief as a permanent problem rather than an emergency issue. The development of this viewpoint over the course of the last four years is noticeable, due perhaps to the largely increased participation by the states in carrying the burden of public relief. The proportion of the total expenditures for this purpose, contributed by the states, increased from 9 per cent ($18,000,000) during the first quarter of 1933, to 33 per cent ($59,000,000) during the corresponding quarter of 1934.

An examination of the sources of state unemployment relief funds shows that in 1931 88 per cent were derived from general revenues; that in 1934, general revenues accounted for only 5 per cent of the total. As general revenue balances were depleted, states began to resort to the sale of bonds and to special sources of tax revenue. The sale of bonds provided 12 per cent of the total relief expenditures in 1931, but provided 80 per cent in 1934—from January through June.

The desirability of more permanent methods of financing has become evident with the realization that many years will elapse before a large portion of the unemployed can be reabsorbed by industry. As this feeling has developed there have been numerous indications that the states are beginning to appreciate the permanence of the problem. Fifteen states have made comprehensive surveys of the organization and administration of their governmental relief agencies. In numerous commonwealths the classification of those on relief, as between the employables and the unemployables, has been utilized for the purpose of allocating expenditures between the federal government and the states. Many states have set up strong unemployment relief commissions or de-

partments of public welfare, as the significance of the problem has been appreciated.

Emergency measures to supply revenues for relief seem destined to be supplanted by comparatively long-term financial plans based upon revenue programs of some permanence and stability.

TAXES

Such programs will, in most cases, involve the uncovering of new sources of state revenues. At the 1935 sessions, almost every one of the twenty-three states which now levy no sales tax will investigate the possibilities of adopting that lucrative revenue producer. The state income tax, which is already being collected in some form in thirty states, is almost sure to be adopted by other legislatures. A considerable number of states will study the advisability of continuing the diversion of gasoline taxes to other uses than roads and highways. Some other states will be contemplating future diversion, whether Senator Hayden and Representative Cartwright give them permission to control their own tax revenues or not.

Local governments are particularly concerned, in many states, with the tax programs to be evolved in the legislative chambers. Particularly in those states where constitutional tax limitations have recently been adopted, the shrinkage in revenues for local governmental units makes state legislation imperative. There will be an extension in the use of state grants-in-aid to minor civil divisions, as general property is displaced by indirect sources of tax revenue for the purposes of local government.

Ohio's harassed legislators have battled through two special sessions and a continuation of the second, after an adjournment of six months, in an effort to compensate for the 30 per cent cut in local government income brought about by the 10-mill property tax limitation. One of the chief disturbing elements in the proposal for a 3 per cent sales tax in the Buckeye State was the allocation feature, which, as originally drawn, provided for distribution of the funds to the counties, and from there to other minor civil divisions on the basis of population and the total tax roll.

In West Virginia, also, the burden of taxation has largely been shifted from general property to other objects of taxation, and the cities, hit squarely by the property tax reduction, are clamoring for more revenue.

One of Florida's recently passed constitutional amendments exempts from taxation homesteads which are valued at less than five thousand dollars. Legislative attention will have to be directed to providing compensatory revenues for counties, cities, towns, and public schools.

When the Arkansas legislature meets on the second Monday in January, it will not only be cramped by the total state budget limitation passed in November, but it will also be forced to deal with a school problem of critically major proportions. Practically every school district in the state has defaulted on bonds, and current revenues are insufficient for maintenance purposes.

STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The January sessions will be filled with proposals relative to the organization and administration of local government.

Colorado's legislators will consider a reorganization of state and county governments, which may possibly bring a consolidation of some counties. In Georgia it is probable that a larger measure of home rule will be permitted cities and counties, in order to relieve the legislature of the tremendous load of purely local legislation which faces it at each session. In Florida another constitutional amendment opens up the

question of municipal government by providing for classification of cities and towns according to population.

The legislative program in the Empire State will contain acts designed to facilitate a more economical administration of government in New York City. An amendment relating to the abolition of county government in New York, and the reorganization of local government in the counties outside of New York, was passed at the extraordinary session of the legislature in August. The amendment must be approved again by the incoming legislature before it can be submitted to the people for popular vote.

An extension of state supervision and control seems probable in West Virginia, where the State Tax Commission's authority to approve local budgets will doubtless be further defined and strengthened. There is some possibility of the adoption of municipal home rule legislation in West Virginia.

Thus, in summary, we find the states as a whole still undecided as to whether or not to accept the responsibilities of parenthood in dealing with their judicially-defined offspring. The protective, parental instincts of many legislatures are indicated by the number slated to discuss and decide on problems of county reorganization and of municipal government. The bountiful home rule legislation to be considered in January no less pointedly indicates that some of the states prefer to beget and forget. Or shall we say that they are somewhat disposed to transfer the source of authority from the states to political subdivisions.

LIQUOR LEGISLATION

Repeal of state prohibition, the original enactment of liquor control laws, or revision of such laws now existing will receive attention in no less than twelve states at the January sessions—and probably in twice that number. Existing liquor control acts were hurriedly passed at special legislative sessions in many states, and subsequent observation of the operation of these laws shows them to be in need of substantial alteration.

Florida, Idaho, Maine, Nebraska, West Virginia, and Wyoming have recently repealed prohibitory provisions, and their legislatures will be forced to deal with problems of regulation. The "bone dry" laws of Arkansas and Georgia are due to be replaced by liquor control legislation.

CRIMINAL LAW

The rising tide of interest in criminal law and its enforcement will, in all probability, bring the emergence of many proposals for legislative action. The establishment of a centralized state police force will be considered by the legislators of Georgia, Indiana, New Hampshire, Kansas, Ohio, and other states. In Massachusetts a strenuous but unsuccessful effort was made at the last session to coördinate the efforts of state and local enforcement agencies through the establishment of a centralized administrative authority. The plan proposed supervision of training methods both for recruiting and promoting in the classified service, improved methods of communication by radio and teletype throughout the commonwealth, and centralized control in case of emergencies. The opposition of local departments defeated the measure in 1933, but it is probable that the 1935 legislature will reconsider the bill.

There is ample reason to believe that many states will consider the advisability of establishing state judicial councils, state departments of justice, and state bureaus of identification, investigation and statistics. Reforms in legal and judicial procedure will be suggested. Interstate coöperation in the form of reciprocal laws, uniform laws, and compacts will be proposed in many states,

as a means of overcoming the handicaps placed upon criminal law administration by state boundary lines.

STATE REGULATION OF PRIVATE BUSINESS

The governmental control program, to which some branches of private business have ruefully succumbed during the past few years, gives promise of developing still further. The control of milk prices will be a matter of legislative concern in Wisconsin and Massachusetts. The end of state regulatory supervision and control of public utilities has by no means been sighted. The regulation of the oil industry, and especially of its production, will be proposed in Texas. There is positive indication that so-called quasi-public businesses, such as those which I have mentioned above, will not take the veil of socialism, but will rather be wedded to public supervision, with benefit of legislative clergy.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

"Economic security" is the phrase-of-the-month, and propositions of every hue alleging economic security for the aged and the unemployed will be a source of concern for many a 1935 legislature. There will certainly be an attempt to provide a workable system of unemployment insurance in many states. In Massachusetts an interim committee of the legislature has been studying this subject with particular reference to the comparative merits of unemployment insurance and unemployment reserves. Its report will be before the January session for action. The legislators of Wisconsin, pioneer state in unemployment insurance, contemplate strengthening the provisions of their law—which became effective last July. Twelve other states have had interim commissions investigating the problem and drafting laws for its solution.

Unemployment insurance, old age pensions, mothers' pensions, maximum working hours, collective bargaining, interstate labor compacts—all are on the agenda of various legislatures.

HORIZONS

It is apparent that, quantitatively, the forty-two legislatures meeting this month will be a great success. It is equally apparent that our law-making machinery needs much overhauling if the quality of the work done in these eighty-four legislative chambers is to be substantially improved.

Planning is no less important in the broad field of legislation than it is in any of the administrative agencies which are products of legislation. That the American people are forced to endure the passage of many legislative bills which are poorly conceived and poorly drafted is merely one proof of the lack of adequate planning.

Some methods have been developed and demonstrated by which legislative planning can be more intelligently done. Various states last year established planning boards. Somewhat experimental, most of these boards have been glorified city planning agencies. But some day they will evolve into effective devices for carefully moulding legislative programs.

The law creating the Kansas legislative council became effective in March of 1933, and although an appraisal of the work of this council would be premature, there are positive indications that in any state, a well devised, well operated legislative council would materially promote the cause of intelligent legislation.

In Utah, Tennessee, Oklahoma, and Idaho, the possibilities of effective legislative reference bureaus are under discussion in legislative circles. Obviously every state should have the facilities and services of such a bureau, although they will not achieve their fullest possibilities until they are broadened by an ade-

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Dallas Wins a Place In The Sun

How Dallas citizens fought for good government and are organizing to keep it, is a fascinating story of non-partisan accomplishment

W. D. JONES, M.D. *President, Dallas Citizens Charter Association*

PRIOR to the adoption of the new charter in 1930, effective May 1 of the succeeding year, Dallas had since 1907 been under the mayor-commission form of government. In that period there had been seven mayors and, of course, each mayor had his own board of commissioners. The city was growing at a tremendous pace. It needed every modern facility in ratio, exceeding the increase in its current revenues. With a population jumping on an average of 14,000 to 20,000 a year for the period between 1922 and 1927, the government was confronted with a task far beyond the capacities of the constantly changing administrative direction. Mayors and commissioners were elected for two years each and one group scarcely had got their seats warm before they were supplanted by another and in some cases by an even less efficient government.

The city charter of that time provided that the mayor should make up a budget to be submitted to the board of commissioners on May 1 of each year. Since that was the day that the mayor took office and since, with a single exception, between 1907 and 1930 no mayor had had experience in city government, the result was confusion confounded. The incoming mayor knew nothing about the city's problems, and, generally speaking, he had little help from the outgoing officials. The budget was usually, therefore, finally adopted by the commissioners in August or September after huge overdrafts had been accumulated in carrying on current operations of the government.

These overdrafts rose steadily, constituting a floating debt against the city, which at the end of the fiscal year of 1928 approximated $2,000,000. Delinquent taxes at the time amounted to more than the current overdraft. Large property owners evaded tax payments and favoritism at the city hall permitted many citizens to escape payment of their proper share of the cost of government.

To make a long story short, it was the same old story of inefficiency.

MOVEMENT FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT

The movement for the council-manager form of government was inaugurated at a meeting of less than a dozen men in a downtown hotel. This meeting followed a publication in a local newspaper of a series of articles applying the municipal governmental criteria of Professor W. D. Munro of Harvard University, to the Dallas city government, the writer finding upon analysis that the government was but 54 per cent efficient.

The Citizens Charter Association, growing out of the original meeting of these few citizens, supported a program previously made possible at the instigation of one of their number by the appointment of Mayor R. E. Burt and

a committee to draft a new charter. After nearly three years of strife a new charter was voted on by the people, and was adopted by about four to one at the end of 1930, to become effective May 1, 1931.

Spokesmen for the charter association promised the people of Dallas that if they would adopt this new charter, elect a council of nine men, one from each of six major subdivisions of the city and three at large, they might expect betterments in their government. One of the promises made was that a budget system would be installed which would prevent the accumulation of further overdrafts, and that it was reasonable to believe that an annual saving in operating costs of at least $250,000 could be achieved through proper management of the city's business.

MAKEUP OF CHARTER GROUP

The officials of the Citizens Charter Association, up to the adoption of the charter in 1930, were the president, three vice-presidents, and a secretary-treasurer. These officers labored for nearly three years in their effort to overcome the opposition of well seasoned politicians, then in control of our city government, and to secure a vote by the people for a change in our charter—the adoption of the council-manager form of government. The people little suspected what was in store for them in the way of revolutionary municipal administration. The *Municipal Review,* in an article by Louis P. Head soon after the charter adoption, told the story of how and why this outstanding southwestern city changed its form of government.

The Citizens Charter Association felt that our city needed some agency through which we might draft six councilmen for the six districts and three councilmen-at-large, as provided in the charter, and made some changes in its organization to conform with the new charter. It elected a president, six vice-presidents, one from each council district, and a secretary-treasurer. The vice-presidents from the council districts are men with contact in each district. The executive committee, which is composed of not less than a hundred citizens, divided about equally between men and women, is secured as nearly as possible on an equal basis from each council district. The membership is composed of all citizens who are interested in sponsoring good government under the council manager form in Dallas. We add to our executive committee when our meetings begin to show lack of attendance and interest, never dropping any from our membership ourselves. We find that our members drop out in two ways: first, voluntarily, not taking any interest and not attending our meetings, although they are usually interested in our plan and vote with us; second, those who resign, part of them joining our opposition, and the rest dropping out because they are unable to devote the time necessary to attend meetings and do active work.

Our officers are divided into two classes, "war time" officers and "peace time" officers. The war time officers serve from January until June every two years, while our active campaign is on for the election of our councillors. The president, during this time, appoints a committee of fifteen to draft suitable men to be presented to the executive committee to sponsor for councilmen for the next two years. When the campaign is over the executive committee meets on the first Thursday in June and elects the peace time officers who serve nineteen months. The object of this arrangement of officers is to remove the organization from any suspicion of political influence at the city hall. It might be better if our constitution and by-laws were changed so that our peace time officers would serve through the campaign, or the war time officers should be elected at least four months before

the selection of candidates, or the beginning of the active campaign. I was elected peace time officer in 1933 and upon assuming responsibility and studying our situation I have concluded that we must take enough interest in public affairs and civic improvement to keep the organization before the people during the interval between active campaigns for the election of the council.

On December 18, 1933, Thomas H. Reed, head of the department of political science of the University of Michigan, addressed the Citizens Charter Association at a luncheon to which the public was invited. He also made a fifteen-minute radio talk on good municipal government and how to secure it. His address was very beneficial both to Dallas and to surrounding cities which had the council manager form of government. These cities were represented at the luncheon by their manager or mayor, and in some instances both. The favorable publicity received from Dr. Reed's visit was well worth the effort of securing him

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

In September 1934 a specific sewerage tax was proposed to create a sinking fund for sewerage bonds, collecting only the amount necessary rather than raising the ad valorem tax and collecting three times the amount needed for the fund. There was considerable sentiment against this tax and without the knowledge of the council or the city manager I appointed a committee of nine to determine the best method of taxation to raise the necessary funds and to report their findings to the association. They made their report and gave the reasons for their decisions, quoting the portions of the city charter dealing with the matter, which showed that the tax was provided for in the charter at the will of the council. This report was so unexpected that it created quite a bit of comment and favorable publicity.

There was the usual hue and cry by the opposition to reform against employment of an out-of-town man as city manager. This, however, was a specific demand of the charter association and as a result of that demand and the election subsequent to the charter adoption of a council unanimously pledged to the charter platform, John N. Edy was installed as Dallas' first city manager on May 1, 1931.

Results obtained under the administration of a business man's council, coupled with the administrative ability of Edy as executive head of the government, have not only astonished the people of Dallas, but ought to serve as a signpost for betterment of municipal government everywhere.

For instance, for the two fiscal years immediately preceding council-manager government there was an operating overdraft of $1,134,761.71. At the end of the third fiscal year under the council-manager form, however, the total cash surplus amounted to $305,782.37. The huge overdraft inherited from the last mayor-commission government was in part absorbed by cash reductions and by amortization of the debt over a period of years with a consequent reduction in the interest rate, enabling the city to restore its treasury to a cash-and-carry basis.

All of this was made possible through good administration during a period of severe economic stress, but on top of all this the council reduced ad valorem tax valuations 15 per cent cutting several hundred thousand dollars off the city's revenues—a step deliberately taken to aid property owners to rehabilitation. It is notable that collections of both current and delinquent taxes for the three and a half years exceeded all previous records, with a maximum delinquency of less than 14 per cent.

Meantime the city modernized the police department, installed radio equipment in about fifty squad cars,

halting what had been something of a notorious crime wave.

Many sections of the city were freed of storm water damage by the building of new sewers.

Water department service was materially enlarged with installation of larger mains in many parts of the city.

Health department services were extended with a stricter inspection service and a closer medical and nursing supervision over all aspects of public health.

Garbage collection schedules were practically doubled with a reduction in the cost aggregating approximately 35 per cent.

Fire losses were reduced from a total for three years preceding the council-manager form of government from $4,657,023 to $2,930,795 for the first three years of city management. This record is particularly significant since the depression has brought on in many parts of the country a wave of arson with which we need not deal here.

Now, on the eve of an election to tell the fate of the present city government in Dallas, the charter association is still committed to the principle of non-political municipal administration. It has been necessary for this government to blaze new trails, but we of the charter association believe these trails will lead us to even better government. It has been the cardinal principle of the Citizens Charter Association from the dawn of its inception that its function was not to dictate government or governmental policies, but to provide an agency through which the forward-looking citizens of the community could draft for their service a capable group of men as city councilmen, leaving to the council after its election the duty of choosing a city manager and other administrative heads of the government. In the three and a half years of our experiment some errors have been made, of course, but we feel now that we have as good a system of government and one as efficient and capable as may be found in the United States.

There are many things I have omitted from this story of progress. I might talk at length on the advantages of civil service. I could go into a great deal as to other, but in some degree minor, accomplishments. If these were recited they would merely add to the record of betterment.

Dallas is proud of its government. In two successive tests at the ballot box it has won overwhelmingly. We believe that next April the people will again endorse non-political, non-partisan government, and elect a council proposed by the Citizens Charter Association.

Public health budgets have been reduced by the depression in seventy-seven American cities from 71 to 58 cents or 19 per cent per capita, according to Dr. W. F. Walker of the Commonwealth Fund. The losses in different cities ranged all the way from 3 per cent to 54 per cent. However, Dr. Walker concludes, this does not represent a corresponding loss in efficiency. The pressure for economy has forced many desirable administrative changes.

* * * *

In a recently published volume, "The English Police," E. H. Glover, editor of the London *Police Chronicle* reviews the growth of the British police system during the last century, noting especially the effect on police efforts of the English tendency to reduce the severity of punishments for crime. Summarized, his significant conclusion is that the certainty of a light sentence is a greater deterrent than the off-chance of death.

Party and Government Control at the Grass Roots

Selection of committeemen — although most important task of voter in determining quality of government — receives scant attention

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THE thesis of this paper is that there is inherent relationship between the character of local party committeemen and the administrative character of government in its day-by-day functioning. It is argued that the party committeemen form the base of the governmental pyramid. It is they who select the party leaders; the party leaders with more or less backing from the party committeemen—rather less than more—then select the candidates for the local tickets and later influence elected officials in the conduct of their offices. By the weight of such influence the standard functions of government are partially perverted from their basic purpose, public service, and made the adjunct of the successful political party.

If this analysis is valid, the selection of party committeemen is in the long run much more important in determining the quality of local government than the November elections where the voter registers his choice between the nominees of the several parties.

It may be noted further that the local committees serve as a training ground and a reservoir for the party leaders of the future, leaders who will make their influence felt not alone in the city and county, but also in the state and the nation. They will serve both in the councils of the party and as candidates for those important offices to which the parties have occasion to make nominations from time to time.

According to our diagnosis, therefore, the most fruitful of reforms in government is to see to it that really representative and broad-gauged citizens are drafted as candidates for the position of committeemen and then elected to serve in this important but much neglected position. The validity of this point of view has been subscribed to by a number of men thoroughly acquainted with politics and government. For example, Ex-Governor Lowden, a man whose name stands high on the honor roll of American governors, expressed the belief that a policy leading to the improvement of the personnel of the local committees would prove to be the most constructive proposal for reforming government of which he knew.

Because of what appears to the writer to be the significance of this viewpoint, a survey has just been completed (1) of the extent of voting for committeemen in eighteen selected cities in the state of New York at the primary elections in 1932, and (2) of the character of party committeemen in these same cities. The group covered includes all of the large cities except New York City, as well as a sampling of smaller cities representative both from the point of view of size and location.

EXTENT OF VOTING IN PRIMARIES

In the thought that the selection of committeemen in the primaries may *in the long run* be more important than the votes cast on election day, figures were brought together to show how indifferent most voters are to the importance of the selection of committeemen. This is reflected both in the number of votes cast and in the comparatively limited number of contests. The total party enrollment in seventeen cities[1] for the Democratic and Republican parties in the year 1932 was 659,965 and the total number voting for committeemen was 240,636, i.e., 36 per cent. In eight of the cities: Albany, Geneva, Binghamton, Poughkeepsie, Johnstown, Gloversville, Utica, Rochester, the percentage voting was 20 per cent or less. In two (Geneva and Gloversville) only 6 or 7 per cent found it worth while to vote for committeemen. In the 2,432 election districts contests took place in 815 districts or 33½ per cent. It should be pointed out that since two committeemen are elected, an election was considered contested when three names were on the ballot even though one of the names may have secured only two or three votes, as was frequently the case.

[1]The data for Yonkers were not available.

These figures pretty well demonstrate how little interest there is among the voters in being represented where representation counts most. Because of the indifference of the average voter, the local party leader has a free hand in nominating those who are acceptable to him, who will uncritically perpetuate his leadership and uphold his methods and policies.

CHARACTER OF COMMITTEEMEN

Two factors were taken into account in throwing light on the character of party committeemen: (a) previous education, and (b) present callings. Summary figures are brought together below.

A. Education (Table 2)

The survey shows that there was a grand total of 3,999 committeemen with the following educational experience: 2,212 or 55 per cent had not gone beyond the grammar school; 1,320 or 33 per cent had enrolled in high schools; 467 or 12 per cent had had at least some training on the academic level. With regard to the last named group, attention should be called to the fact that two-fifths of the academic group consists of lawyers, not a few of whom engage in politics for the purpose of advancing their own careers. Such ambition, as is well known, prompts them

TABLE 1
VOTES FOR PARTY COMMITTEEMEN IN PRIMARY ELECTIONS

City	Total Major Party Enrollment	No. Voting for Committeemen	Percentage Voting	No. Election Districts		No. Contests
Albany	52,308	10,229	20%	240		2
Cortland	6,843	2,025	30%	24		2
Geneva	5,460	325	6%	18		5
Ithaca	9,127	2,604	29%	34		10
Auburn	15,700	5,047	32%	48		8
Elmira	19,183	3,941	21%	92		36
Binghamton	24,395	4,962	20%	98		8
Syracuse	86,495	23,929	28%	310		162
Buffalo	215,109	137,502	64%	718		415
Poughkeepsie	13,574	1,859	14%	48		2
Yonkers						
Johnstown	3,838	384	10%	20		2
Gloversville	7,606	517	7%	30		4
Saratoga Springs	7,599	1,977	26%	26		14
Glens Falls	9,464	5,465	58%	36		23
Amsterdam	13,481	6,309	47%	42		30
Utica	33,511	6,249	19%	128		44
Rochester	136,272	27,312	20%	520		48
Total	659,965	240,636	36%	2,432	33%	815

TABLE 2
PARTY COMMITTEEMEN
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

	Grammar School		High School		College	
Albany	184	47%	171	44%	38	9%
Cortland	19	44%	16	37%	8	19%
Geneva	4	11%	29	81%	3	8%
Ithaca	11	32%	13	38%	10	30%
Auburn	46	48%	46	48%	4	4%
Elmira	33	37%	47	52%	10	11%
Binghamton	45	40%	45	40%	22	20%
Syracuse	116	37%	145	46%	51	16%
Buffalo	974	69%	304	21%	142	10%
Poughkeepsie	36	38%	49	51%	11	11%
Yonkers	79	30%	121	46%	63	24%
Johnstown	26	65%	12	30%	2	5%
Gloversville	44	63%	17	24%	9	13%
Saratoga Springs	28	54%	18	35%	6	11%
Glens Falls	28	43%	34	52%	3	5%
Amsterdam	54	70%	16	21%	7	9%
Utica	183	72%	58	23%	12	5%
Rochester[1]	302	55%	179	33%	66	12%
Total	2212		1320		467	

[1]Information concerning occupations and education covers only the Republican committeemen.

to "play along with the party," thus handicapping them in the exercise of their judgment in the best interests of the community.

The data warrant the conclusion that from the standpoint of previous education the party committeemen are hardly representative of the class of citizens which is likely to take a broad view of the complex community problems with which every municipality is confronted. It seems axiomatic that if we are to have truly representative government, we must select those who represent the whole community, including a generous sprinkling of men and women who have the training and the outlook which will enable them to consider local problems primarily with reference to a long run program of progressive improvement in public affairs rather than with regard to party advantage. It is not held that those of limited schooling should be banned from representative positions, but on the other hand it is urged that those who have enjoyed educational advantages are better equipped to determine the increasingly complex policies of a modern community than those who have not gone beyond the grammar school level. At present the balance between the two groups in the cities covered is too heavily weighted in favor of the latter.

TABLE 3
OCCUPATIONS OF COMMITTEEMEN

City	Govt. Employees		Attorneys		Other Professional Men		Merchants		Bus. Exec.		Clerks Laborers Salesmen, etc.		Total
Albany	134	35%	22	6%	9	2%	22	6%	12	3%	183	48%	382
Cortland	2	6%	4	12%	1	3%	2	6%	2	6%	21	67%	32
Geneva	3	13%	1	4%	0	0	3	13%	5	21%	12	50%	24
Ithaca	7	21%	4	12%	0	0	1	3%	3	10%	19	56%	34
Auburn	23	28%	1	1%	1	1%	6	7%	8	10%	44	53%	83
Elmira	12	12%	3	3%	3	3%	7	7%	9	9%	65	66%	99
Binghamton	11	10%	10	9%	2	2%	7	7%	7	7%	72	66%	109
Syracuse	82	28%	32	11%	11	4%	16	5%	21	7%	129	44%	291
Buffalo	228	18%	60	5%	58	5%	67	5%	66	5%	758	61%	1237
Poughkeepsie	9	14%	4	6%	2	3%	3	4%	9	14%	40	62%	67
Yonkers	35	18%	11	6%	16	8%	9	5%	20	10%	103	53%	194
Johnstown	4	11%	1	3%	1	3%	4	11%	1	3%	24	69%	35
Gloversville	4	6%	2	3%	5	8%	2	3%	1	2%	48	77%	62
Saratoga Springs	8	17%	4	8%	1	2%	6	13%	2	4%	27	56%	48
Glens Falls	5	10%	0	0	2	4%	5	10%	2	4%	38	73%	52
Amsterdam	20	27%	1	1%	4	5%	6	8%	2	3%	40	55%	73
Utica	43	20%	5	2%	9	4%	20	10%	4	2%	129	61%	210
Rochester[1]	67	11%	21	3%	20	3%	33	5%	45	8%	400	70%	586
Total	697	19%	186	5%	145	4%	219	6%	219	6%	2152	60%	3618

[1]See note in table above.

B. Occupations (Table 3)

The occupations of the 3,618 committeemen for whom information is available were grouped under the following class headings: (1) Labor (skilled and unskilled, clerks and salesmen), (2) government employees, (3) attorneys, (4) other professional men, (5) merchants, (6) business executives. The first two groups comprise 79 per cent of the total number, there being 2,152 or 60 per cent in group one and 697 or 19 per cent in group two. The balance is divided fairly evenly among the remaining four groups.

The preponderance of those coming from what may be called the lesser employment classes, taken in conjunction with the considerable number of public employees, is not without significance. Making due allowance for exceptions in these ranks, a majority of docile followers can readily be counted on by those in control of one or the other party and—let it be noted—a docile followership is the primary requisite for the "boss" system. Confident of his backing in the official party organization and realizing the average voter's indifference to, if not ignorance of, the function played by primary elections, the party leader has felt free to ignore the demands of his constituency for long overdue reforms and improvements in government. Evidence of this is to be found in the regularity with which progressive measures are buried in aldermanic and legislative committees.

Another noteworthy feature in the summary above is the extent to which officials on the public pay-rolls, the public servants, are represented on the party committees. In Albany, 35 per cent of the Democratic committeemen are in this class and in Syracuse and Auburn, 28 per cent are recruited by the party in control from this class. They are at once masters and servants, partisans and impartial instruments of the administration of government. But whatever their roles, their bread and butter interests dictate the role of docility to the leader in control of the party machinery. It is submitted that this is a highly anomalous situation, one that makes neither for representative government nor for the best conduct of the public business.

CONCLUSION

If our basic thesis is accepted, that the local party committees provide the foundation for the whole governmental pyramid, and if the situation in the New York State cities is more or less typical, the data cited above and the observations to which they have given rise may well make one pause. They prompt the question as to whether our electorate has shown itself ready to assume the responsibility of self-government. At a very minimum such responsibility would seem to involve seeing to it that anyone's immediate representatives in the political hierarchy represented him, rather than that they should be foisted on him practically without his knowledge and voluntary consent. This is self-government by default—which is no self-government at all.

The data above suggest a further question as to the bearing of this widespread inertia and indifference on the educational system. Do they not point to the failure of the schools, the colleges and universities to perform one of their chief obligations, and according to their own avowals, one of their most important functions, namely, to prepare young people for the responsibilities of citizenship? One needs no survey to ascertain how ignorant the bulk of the graduates of the secondary schools and academic institutions are of basic political phenomena and methods and how little interest they have in participating actively in party activities and political campaigns.

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Looking Ahead at Expenditure Plans For Active Recreation

It is false economy to cut funds for recreation. The need for wisely made expenditures is more essential than ever before

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LOCAL funds for active recreation in our cities have taken a sharp drop since the 1930 expenditure peak when $38,500,000 was the year's total reported. For the year 1933 the aggregate expenditure was $21,000,000—a decrease of over 45 per cent. However, emergency expenditures of about $6,000,000 derived from CWA funds during 1933 are not included in the above total. The largest portion of the CWA grant has been made available during this year. When this amount is added to the cost of the recreation workers paid from FERA funds, the total should comprise a substantial, additional sum for the year 1934. The most drastic decrease in the local expenditures for active recreation has been for land, buildings, and permanent equipment. For the four-year period from 1928 to 1931, the average yearly expenditure, which was reported for these capital outlays, was over $11,000,000, while for the year 1933 the expenditure was only a little better than $2,000,000. Fortunately the expenditures essential in the carrying on of the regular recreation programs have been much less seriously affected. Thus salaries and wages, upkeep, supplies, and incidentals averaged annually about $19,500,000 from 1928 to 1931 and totaled over $16,300,000 for 1933.

In considering the decline in the operating and maintenance costs just cited above, it should not be forgotten that many recreation departments doing excellent work were forced to accept much larger cuts than the averages above indicate. In Minneapolis, for example, the budget for both park and recreation services is 60 per cent less than before the depression. Account should also be taken of the fact that the majority of our cities did not provide the recreation departments with budgets adequate to meet reasonable popular demands for play opportunities in the years before 1929. Now, with reduced appropriations, recreation authorities are faced with the difficult task of stretching the funds and the facilities to accommodate the unusual increases in the number of participants coming from the ranks of the unemployed. Temporary stop-gaps such as the addition of many voluntary recreation leaders and aides and the assistance of the CWA and the FERA have been invaluable in carrying on the regular programs and in meeting the unusual and immediate demands. Such support, however, must be recognized as temporary and incidental. In the long run and with a return to more normal economic conditions, financial support will come largely, if not entirely, from local funds. The important savings will probably have to be made, in the main, by cutting the expenditures for capital projects to the bone. Sizable economies

in the expenditures for current services, when continued for any time, would be most unfortunate.

These circumstances make it quite evident that the need for wisely made expenditures is more essential than ever before. It should stimulate those who determine the recreation policies and those who expend the funds to make the recreation dollar count where the community needs are the greatest. With this idea in mind, the writer discusses below, necessarily in a general and summary fashion, some of the important factors which deserve serious consideration when the expenditure plans for active recreation for both current services and capital projects are overhauled to meet the needs of the years just ahead.

DETERMINING THE RESPONSIBILITY

In the early days of active recreation in this country, the work of private agencies in furthering municipal recreation was outstanding. As the years went on, both the city governments and the public schools assumed increasing responsibilities. Today, our city governments carry the brunt of the responsibility but the work of the public school systems and private organizations still remains significant. In many cities both the city governments and the public school systems expend money for recreation and carry on more or less independently of each other. Unnecessary duplications of facilities and services often result and a certain waste of the limited tax funds available for this purpose is inevitable. It should be increasingly evident that the best results as regards genuine economy and administrative effectiveness cannot be attained where city governments, school boards, and even county and regional park boards, which serve the same community, budget, operate and plan independently. Taxpayers have a right to demand either that this responsibility be completely centralized or that some coöperative plan looking towards greater operating and physical unity be put into effect. In a number of cities cooperative arrangements among the agencies promoting public recreation have proven practical. The set-up in Oakland, California, affords a good illustration. Indications are not lacking that the demand for greater centralization is increasing. Witness, for example, the recent consolidation of twenty-two park districts in the city of Chicago.

In seeking greater financial and administrative unity, three solutions suggest themselves. Responsibility might be lodged largely or entirely on the city governments or units thereof. This seems to be the trend in many cities. On the other hand, some recreation students and city planners believe that the public schools should take over the entire program. The third alternative would be to place the responsibility and final authority in the hands of a group or a single individual representing both the city government and the public school system. The city government and the public school system would then be delegated those particular recreation functions which each was in the best position to conduct. To make such a set-up effective, the authority representing the two municipal units should have enough power to put into effect unified budgets and expenditure plans.

An arrangement along the lines suggested in the third alternative seems, to the writer, to provide the most practical and satisfactory solution. Under this plan it has been proposed that the grounds and buildings of the public school system be utilized to the fullest extent in carrying out a program of active recreation for all children of school age. It might be necessary to augment somewhat the existing physi-

cal education staffs to direct the activities. The city government, for its part, would establish and conduct play areas and activities for the older youth and for adults. Under its control would come the physical facilities necessary for such activities as golf, outdoor swimming and bathing, tennis, the conduct of winter sports and various types of adult entertainment. These illustrations merely suggest some of the general outlines. A reshaping of the administrative machinery to provide for coöperation and control along these lines would seem to offer substantially more to most cities in terms of economy and service than would be the case if the entire responsibility were turned over to either the city governments or to the public school systems.

There is another type of situation which deserves consideration. The active recreation movement has developed within the last quarter-century more or less independently of the park departments and boards. The result is that we find, in many cities, park and active recreation units functioning separately and without any noticeable amount of coöperation. Actually both the older park services and active recreation merely represent different approaches to a common goal, viz., to provide enjoyable leisure opportunities for the public. Park superintendents have lost, in large part, the earlier antipathy towards the more active forms of recreation and there are excellent examples where these two expressions of the play and leisure movement have been carried on effectively under park departments. Certainly, in these days, consideration could well be given to the organization of a municipal parks and recreation department wherein both aspects of this larger function will be considered important. The community advantages are immediately evident whenever the plant and facilities of a park system are adapted to the legitimate needs of active and socialized forms of play. Any effective steps municipalities take towards administrative unity as between the city governments and public school systems and between independent park and recreation departments should materially improve the financial and planning phases of the park and recreation services.

APPRAISING RECREATION OBJECTIVES

The depression period is an excellent time for a certain amount of stock-taking as regards the current park and recreation services. The aggregate spent for these services represents, in a broader sense, the actual cost of municipal recreation. There are many reasons why parks are more expensive, for example, than are playgrounds or community centers. This is understandable when one considers the cost of acquiring extensive park lands and their development, and of the buildings and the improvements necessary for zoological gardens, aquariums, floral exhibits, and other special projects representing an earlier tradition of leisure-time entertainment. Specialized projects of the type just mentioned necessarily involve relatively high expenditures not only for the initial capital cost but also for their operation and maintenance. Valuable as these projects are for the entertainment and education they afford the public, is it not a debatable question whether they should be continued on the old expenditure levels when the present day needs for skilled leadership to direct play activities is so evident? With the inadequate totals available for both park and recreation services and with the strikingly increased demands for recreational opportunities which satisfy emotional and physical needs, is it not the part of wisdom on the part of our budget-makers to provide for these needs even at the expense of

severely reducing the appropriation for some of the older and more expensive park features? In raising this question, the writer fully appreciates the necessity of maintaining, on as high level as is possible, the naturalistic features of our parks and their general characteristics. However, since park and recreation funds will not cover all of the customary projects and services of past years, the needs of both of these services should be considered jointly, if that is feasible, and the curtailments made in those services which offer the least in community satisfactions at the present time. A critical reappraisal of all park and community recreation services to determine the inter-relationships, the relative costs, and their public appeal would be a valuable prelude to budget-making.

Active recreation services also stand in need of revaluation. A review by the writer of many annual recreation reports and budgets of recreation departments revealed a rather bewildering variety of services provided and considerable differences in the emphases given to the various activities as indicated both in the programs and in the budget appropriations. In one sense, this is merely the sign of a healthy growth of a recreation department. There is, however, a definite danger when small budget appropriations cover numerous activities of differing types and embrace too many objectives. It would be a better policy to concentrate on a few definite aims where the needs are clearly the greatest and the accomplishments are actually apparent to the public. At the present time two general needs seem paramount. The first is for adequate and well supervised play areas, both indoor and outdoor, for children and also for adults. The second is for recreation opportunities which satisfy what might be termed as emotional and aesthetic desires and which may find expression either in group or individual activities. These needs seem to be greater as regards older youth and adults since children find considerable opportunity for these expressions in their school activities. The objectives given represent only the opinion of the writer and are set forth in this general form for the purpose of suggesting the nature of a critical evaluation of the aims and activities in terms of the budget funds available. Such expenditure planning will probably not save any money but should insure better results from the funds which are expended.

Expenditure objectives, in terms of the groups to be reached and in the time to be devoted to the recreation program, are also important. Many cities, for example, make entirely inadequate provisions for adult recreation. This need is greater than ever before and every expenditure plan should furnish such opportunities so far as is possible. In this situation, a modified system of moderate fees and charges might well be tried out or extended for the more specialized activities, supplementing the budget appropriations which provide free services. It is likewise important that recreation opportunities for girls and young women should not be neglected. So, too, it is essential that opportunities for play be afforded all persons, regardless of race or color.

Finally it is now being realized that the recreation programs in our cities should no longer be part-time affairs, but should be carried on throughout the entire year. The excellent winter sports programs that some recreation departments put on is proof enough that the benefits of play activities are not limited to summer months. The objectives which have just been mentioned are all familiar ones, but nevertheless are worth calling attention to since so many

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New York City Elections as a Problem in Political Science

Four principles for the securing of good government in the country's largest city suggested by one of its citizens

RICHARD S. CHILDS

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THE victory of Fusion over Tammany in New York City in November 1933 and the efforts to draft a new charter in the summer of 1934 provide the makings of a lively narrative. I shall sketch these episodes, however, as parts of a problem in political science and thus make a good story into something duller than last year's doughnuts, for the edification of those of us who take our political sports in this melancholy analytical fashion!

Forty years ago, when the National Municipal League was organized, the municipal reformers, who came from the various cities and met for the first time to match experiences and ideas, were clear in their minds that it was futile to attempt to maintain volunteer reform parties as an offset to political machines: they turned their minds to a more technical attack which we have carried on ever since. They developed a model charter on a simple mayor and council plan and some twenty years later we pushed forward the standard and developed the city manager plan. In the process the League developed its doctrines and established them as orthodox among practical reformers on the basis of abundant mounting evidence.

Let's look at recent events in New York in the light of the National Municipal League's principles of democratic organization!

Our seven million people are organized for political self-government by a charter which vests the powers of the municipality in the board of estimate and apportionment, three of whose members (mayor, comptroller, and president of the board of aldermen) are elected at large from the whole city, and the others, the borough presidents, are elected singly by the boroughs. There is also a moribund and feeble board of aldermen which doesn't matter and there is a list of county officers and local elective judges which encumber the ballot and get little attention.

This set-up goes contrary to the principles of the National Municipal League's model charter in several respects: (1) the ballot of about fourteen offices is too long, (2) the districts are unwieldy, (3) the ballots are not nonpartisan, (4) there is no provision for proportional representation.

It may surprise you to have me say that No. 1, the long ballot, does not seem to me the serious item; it would be better if the county offices were cleared off the ballot and made appointive and steps are being taken in that direction; likewise as to the judges. The principal merit of getting them off the ballot, however, is to diminish the powers of the private political leaders who virtually appoint them now. Their presence on the ballot does not seriously obscure the issues as to the major offices; the people get

a clear view of the candidates for borough presidents and for mayor, comptroller, and president of the board of aldermen.

It is the second violation of sound principle—the use of unwieldy districts—that seems to be the most serious. All the five boroughs except Richmond (Staten Island) are unwieldy, having populations of from 500,000 to 2,000,000 each, and, of course, the city as a whole from which mayor, comptroller, and president of the board of aldermen are elected, is still worse. By an unwieldy district I mean one that is too large to be canvassed hopefully by an independent candidate with a typical candidate's resources of money and friends. We have all over our American system instances of such unwieldy districts. Such districts could be contested by amateur independents against other amateur independents but not against professional organizations. In a small district an independent amateur can cover the district and get due attention with a small amount of money and an improvised organization; in a borough like Brooklyn, with its 2,000,000 people, or one like Queens, which is a far-flung scatteration of populated patches, such an independent can't make a dent in the public consciousness. Accordingly, the only nominees for our board of estimate that ever have any chance are those put forward by powerful ready-made organizations of which, of course, the dominant political machine is the chief. On the other side, the Republican organization, while never powerful enough to elect anybody unaided, can always wreck the anti-Tammany efforts by a refusal to coöperate, and has done so from time to time.

FAILURE OF UNWIELDY DISTRICTS

On this foundation of unwieldy districts, a nonpartisan ballot would fail. It has failed for twenty years or more in Boston when applied to an unwieldy district, namely, the whole city voting for mayor; a decision by the Boston Democratic city committee to endorse a given candidate is usually so potent that even a harmonious combination of all the opposing forces in town is insufficient to match it. So it would be in New York: if we had non-partisan ballots we would not have the nonpartisan elections that we see proceeding so remarkably in the small cities under the city manager plan; an endorsement by Tammany Hall would have about the same effect as if the party name and emblem followed the candidate clear to the point where his name appears on the voting machine. For such endorsement suddenly brings to the support of the candidate a vast army of political mercenaries, drilled, captained, paid, and obedient, an army such as no independent can hope to improvise.

LARGE DISTRICTS MEAN POLITICAL MACHINES

So, see what we did a year ago when we elected Mayor La Guardia and defeated Tammany for the first time in sixteen years! We had the organization of the Republican party, such as it was after endless defeats—that, reinforced by the popular sentiment aroused by the Seabury exposures, was hardly enough! We organized a committee of one thousand a year ahead, got some 5,000 members into touch with each other as best we could, and started up the rudiments of organization in numerous precincts, and then when the campaign time drew near, enlarged it to create the City Fusion party. Then there were other groups, claiming to represent vast and nebulous constituencies and demanding recognition along with the other anti-Tammany forces. All the groups quarrelled and clamored and pulled and hauled and were eventually gotten together to nominate

La Guardia, the idol of nearly a million Italians, Cunningham, a leader of the ex-service organizations, Deutsch, head of a great Jewish federation, our own Raymond V. Ingersoll, the widely-trusted, "impartial chairman" of our vast local garment industry, and so on —so dependent were we on anything we could get hold of in the way of an organization, political or otherwise! In other words, we had to build a new political machine, a crazy ramshackle, to be sure, to combat the old machine. And to keep our position for the next election requires either great funds or wholesale misuse of patronage to man the precinct organizations with the necessary number of professional political mercenaries! The basis of that horrible necessity is the violation of the principle of wieldy districts.

And if we succeed in erecting a new permanent political machine competent to combat Tammany Hall election after election, our machine will speedily become corrupt, and indeed, even now, feeble as is the City Fusion party, it is overrun with self-seekers demanding position, authority, recognition and patronage. And Mayor La Guardia, by steadfastly refusing to use patronage to fortify the Fusion party or any other party that supported him, is steadily affronting the self-seekers who came rushing to the succor of the victors; thereby he is checking the inrush of alien spirits into the Fusion party and filling with rancor those who are already there. My own hope is that the party will disband and leave the field clear for its originators to make a clean start next time with a new name and with still another name the time after that! A political party which holds power enough to attract self-seekers is incapable of protecting itself from contamination. The only way to keep a party true to its original character is to govern it by a self-renewing committee; the necessity of catering successfully to the rank and file of the party to secure their adhesion gives the latter as good control as primary elections of the governing officers of the party could do.

CIVIC CONFERENCE PROGRAM

The program of the New York Civic Conference took into account the principles I mention and dealt correctly with them. Avoiding the ills of the ward plan, it proposed to make the large districts wieldy for the election of a city council through proportional representation, which allows minorities to elect spokesmen without canvassing a whole district. And through the city manager plan it proposed to abolish the other city elections altogether.

But I see no probability that this combination will be seriously considered by the new charter commission presently to be appointed. For, in the spring of 1934, a charter commission was named by the legislature to draft and submit to local popular vote a new charter. Alfred E. Smith was its chairman and Samuel Seabury its vice chairman. With its twenty-eight members it was almost too representative a commission to agree on anything; it did get along but not fast enough to suit the chairman whose irascibility and disorderly attempts to domineer over the proceedings complicated even the simplest bits of business and ended in his sudden and passionate resignation and the subsequent abolition of the commission in favor of a smaller body.

The National Municipal League's ideas were represented on the ground by me, first as chairman of the Civic Conference of the civic associations and as a member of the charter commission; also by Mr. Hallett, of the League's staff and new Secretary of the Citizens Union.

How far New York was from accepting the League's ideas is shown by the

fact that Alfred E. Smith as chairman of the commission, with a straight face, proposed a two-house municipal legislature, undoubtedly unaware of the fact that most of the cities in America had tried that arrangement and abolished it back in the "nineties"! The Civic Conference, on the other hand, urged a "P. R." council, a city manager, and nonpartisan ballots. Between these extremes were those who put a high value on the board of estimate and apportionment, a powerful and responsible body with surprisingly good traditions of technical competence, and the Seabury-La Guardia group who favored a mayor and a small council set-up like our League's model charter of 1894 or like the government of Pittsburgh, Detroit, Boston, and Chicago, with the addition of proportional representation elections. This latter view is likely to prevail, for Mayor La Guardia will probably appoint a new charter commission dedicated to that idea. If the charter thus proposed gets past the rocks of a local issue called "borough autonomy", we shall still have of necessity great political machines to get candidates for mayor into nomination and a repetition of the quadrennial Fusion scramble with its overwhelming burdens on the devoted volunteers who sally forth against the organized mercenaries of patronage.

Editor's Note. Address delivered at the National Conference on Government, Pittsburgh, November 26, 1934.

WHAT LEGISLATORS ARE THINKING ABOUT

(Continued from Page 10)

quate development of the already established Interstate Reference Bureau.

A recent and novel experiment in legislative planning is the pre-session conference. Before the last regular sessions of the legislatures of South Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Kentucky, the respective state councils of the American Legislators' Association organized a pre-session conference of the legislature. These projects were undertaken because of the fact that a legislature has no adequate machinery for mapping out its program. Since the turnover in personnel among our lawmakers is so great as to preclude the possibility of having legislatures which are largely made up of members who are experienced or well equipped with practical knowledge of legislative precedures and techniques, pre-session conferences seem to afford opportunity for acquainting both new recruits and veterans with the issues to be faced.

INTERSTATE COOPERATION

Finally, our present legislative set-up may be considerably improved by the development of closer coöperation between the state governments. Such a statement could only be classified, until recently, as abject theory. At the present time, however, an agency is being developed expressly for this purpose—the Council of State Governments. The American Legislators' Association, realizing that there was no machinery for bringing our forty-nine governments into an harmonious working-relationship has been instrumental in the organizing of this council, which is designed to focus upon this slippery problem the attention and the efforts of state officials and of disinterested agencies which are studying the methods whereby we may improve the structure of our government. The building up of this Council of State Governments will be discussed in most of the legislatures at their coming sessions. It concerns a basic problem for all legislators who have been in office long enough to see the broader implications of their task.

Cleveland Still Dissatisfied

Story of P. R. and the manager plan in Cleveland and the outlook for their return

WILLIAM R. HOPKINS *Former City Manager, Cleveland*

I HAVE been asked to talk about proportional representation and the city manager plan in Cleveland, what happened under them, what happened to them, and what the future holds for them there. That is a rather large order but I shall try to deal not only with the matters suggested to me but also with another which seems to me to be fundamental to the whole problem of better government in this country.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

We had ten years of P. R. in Cleveland; it lasted two years longer than the manager plan because the people behind the charter to bring back the system of elected mayors were in a greater hurry to capture the administration than they were to elect a ward council.

How did proportional representation actually work during those ten years? I think that no one qualified to express an opinion on that point would seriously dispute the statement that the city councils elected in Cleveland under the P. R. plan were, on the whole, the best we have had in many years. These councils were, as none of their predecessors in my time had been, truly representative of the people of Cleveland as a whole. They were not as good as the original proponents of the plan hoped and expected, but even that fact was due, in my opinion, to their truly representative character. Those of us who are sincerely devoted to the improvement of government always desire a government which will be better than a truly representative one would be. On the other hand, the professional controllers of government for their own purposes always want one much worse than a truly representative one would be. These councils were well above the middle point between those two desires. Left to themselves, free from boss and utility and professional labor influences, they would have been pretty nearly as good as any reasonable person could expect them to be.

Being so completely representative and representing large districts as they did, the councilmen elected under P. R. took a broader view of all questions. And they took a more active interest in all questions because they knew that, barring direct interference by external interests, their views would determine the form of city action. Even the members who had been ward councilmen under the old plan—and two-thirds of them had been —were much more active, useful, and happy in their work under the new plan.

In a word, all the arguments and predictions that councilmen elected under P. R. would be more clannish and contentious; that the council would become a battleground of nationalistic struggles and disputes, and that the

interests of the city as a whole would suffer under this system of group representation, turned out to be the exact reverse of correct.

THE MANAGER PLAN

We had the manager plan for eight years, six years under a manager elected by twenty-four out of twenty-five votes, and two years under a manager selected by a Republican party caucus. During this time, the members of the council, with very few exceptions, had received the endorsement of the Republican or the Democratic organization, were themselves practicing politicians in county and state elections and so out of real sympathy with the non-political, business ideals of the city manager form of government. The dominant members, the men who controlled the committees, were positively hostile to the ideals and inevitable trends of the plan and used to the utmost their powers under the charter to prevent administrative economies which affected their political strength. All of these men were holdovers from the old system and possessed enough political experience and machine, utility and other outside support to secure their election under any plan.

There were even greater difficulties from holdover civil service employees who got into the service or were promoted through political influence and whose first allegiance was always to the people outside of the city hall to whom they owed their appointments and promotions and upon whom they believed themselves still dependent for their jobs and future promotions. To these the city manager plan was but a temporary, passing phase and the bosses and the organizations were the only really important things. A city manager bound by law and his sense of duty to respect the civil service law and rules found these laws and rules and the civil service commission itself among the most serious impediments to efficient city administration.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the results actually obtained under the city manager plan far excelled those produced under any other within my recollection.

When the first city manager came into office he found the city's physical equipment and the city property generally in a very bad state. Within the space of six years practically all city property had been put into fine condition, improved and enlarged, and the equipment for the performance of the city services entirely refurbished or replaced. The service department, the fire department, and the police department had been entirely motorized and furnished with first class facilities for taking care of equipment. Entirely new police headquarters and a complete new signal and radio system were installed in the police and fire departments. The city was provided with a complete system of traffic lights and regulation. Sixteen thousand electric street lights replaced gas lamps.

The city park system, which had been allowed to deteriorate sadly, was put into fine condition. Splendid swimming pools, fine recreation buildings, and bandstands were constructed. Recreation facilities and services were expanded and improved and costly breakwaters constructed for the protection and enlargement of our parks on the lake front. The property required for the completion of the Mall and group plan was acquired and funds provided for the beautifying of the Mall. The public hall was completed. The first and, we think, the finest municipal airport in this country was constructed. The plans were completed and the money provided for a stadium which we also believe to be the finest in this country.

In the utilities department, the water department was put in position, for the

first time in the history of the city, to furnish an ample supply of filtered water to all of the people in Greater Cleveland. The municipal light plant was brought up from a condition in which it was incapable of rendering good service to one where it served a larger clientele on even terms with the private utility and at lower rates. Its actual net earnings were brought up to a million dollars a year on a property which had never directly cost the taxpayers a penny. All its debts to other departments were paid in full and it was furnishing street lighting at rates which represented a saving of more than $350,000 a year compared with the prices the city was paying the private utility for comparable service.

In the department of finance, all of the deficiency bonds issued by the previous administrations had been paid off, all deficiencies in the sinking fund accounts made good, and the tax levy for debt charges had been reduced. And there remained in the city treasury, when I left the city hall, nearly twenty-five millions of dollars for public improvements yet to be made.

TAXES REDUCED

Yet, while all these things were being done, the tax rate for city purposes was being reduced. While every other governmental taxing authority was increasing its levies on property in the city of Cleveland, the levy for city operation was decreasing. If the city levy had kept pace with the other levies during the second three years of the city manager plan, the amount of taxes collected for city operation would have been greater by about ten million dollars. In other words, the tax reductions effected for the city in those three years were almost equal to the whole tax levied for city operation in the sixth year.

If the city manager had had the power to fix wages and salaries, and if he had been free to eliminate every inefficient and unnecessary city employee, above all if he could have eliminated entrenched disloyalty, the saving could have been still greater.

During the two years of my successor as city manager, notwithstanding the fact that he had been chosen by a political, partisan caucus and was subject to the political pressures incident to such a selection, the methods established during the preceding six years and the momentum of habits and training of city employees made those two years far better than any that have followed under the elected mayors. A political city manager was far better for the city than a political mayor.

CAUSE OF ABANDONMENT

Why then, did the people of Cleveland abandon P. R. and the city manager plan?

Again, first as to P. R. In this case, the manager plan was the dog and P. R. was only the tail. The people who wanted to seize control of the city for their private purposes, the people who actually put up the money for the expense of circulating the initiative petitions for the new charter and later provided the financial and other support necessary to secure its adoption, picked up for their purpose a charter prepared by a group which had thrice before tried to upset the manager plan. The real leader in all four attacks on the charter was the former and the present mayor, who liked a weak council and had found by experience that a ward council was the weakest kind and so most easily controlled by an elected mayor. But the people who really made the last charter campaign possible were thinking only of getting a mayor with whom they could have satisfactory relations.

Aside from the people who had their private reasons for wanting to go back to the old methods they had found sat-

isfactory, there were a good many honest people who complained that councilmen elected in a group from a large district were not as accessible and amenable to local pressure as the ward councilman had been. They liked to have a councilman handy to receive complaints about the removal of garbage and rubbish and such things. There was also complaint that the system of voting was complicated and this feeling was kept stirred up as much as possible. But these complaints were heard less and less as time went on.

But what about the city manager plan? Why was it voted out after such a record of accomplishment?

Strangely enough, the same feeling which first caused its adoption finally caused its rejection—resentment against the Republican boss and his personal machine. When the people adopted the plan in 1921, they did it in a fit of anger at machine management. When they voted it down, they did it because they believed that the same boss and the same machine really controlled the city manager. The second city manager had been literally selected "in a smoke-filled hotel room" by a caucus of Republican councilmen acting in the presence of the boss after a disgusting exhibition of old-fashioned political maneuvering and trading. Many of the voters preferred a mayor elected by the people to a manager selected under such auspices.

ELECTED MAYORS

The first mayor elected under the charter was a young Democrat who, as county prosecutor, had made a lot of trouble for the boss and his friends. The desire of many people to put this man in the city hall undoubtedly influenced a lot of people to vote for the new charter to make such an election possible. When elected this man thought he had a mandate from the people to give them a partisan political city administration. He frankly modelled his administration on Jimmy Walker and Tammany Hall and started to build up a local Tammany organization. He carried the city government in Cleveland down to the lowest level of efficiency and public value I had witnessed in forty years. He forced through the worst rate ordinance in the history of the city. When he came up for re-election he was defeated by a man who understood his kind of city politics much better. That man was more responsible than any other for the conditions against which the people revolted when they voted for P. R. and the manager plan. He is exactly the kind of mayor he was before. And so the wheel has made the complete turn.

The city council elected by wards has already been relegated by the mayor to the position of insignificance which it occupied when he was mayor before. The most important and urgent business of the members being that of getting jobs for really needy constituents, and the jobs being all in the hands of the mayor, no councilman can afford to have any opinion which may affect his ability to get jobs. Cleveland has exactly the kind of government big cities always get from elected executives who get and keep power by promises, patronage, and the police power. And, to say the least, she is not happy to find herself back in the pit out of which she had climbed. That she will not stay there seems certain. Just when and how she will climb out again is not so clear, but there is good reason to believe that when she does start upward she will not do a half-job as she did before but will establish the new government on firm foundations as Cincinnati did.

The real reason for the destruction of the manager form of government was not that it had failed to accomplish its objectives, but that it was succeeding

too well. Its complete success meant the destruction of the private business of controlling the government of that city for private profit. Every step it made in the direction of managing the city solely for the benefit of its people had to be taken at the expense of somebody who was making a profit out of running some part of it for private profit at the expense of the city.

An honest, competent city manager will not rest until he has an honest, competent man in charge of city purchases. Such a man in Cleveland put an end to an enormous amount of graft. But in stopping graft he made a lot of powerful enemies for his chief.

An honest, competent director of public service, in charge of all construction, naturally and necessarily ended a lot of very profitable contract graft, the kind of graft most profitable to every boss.

When the city manager stopped the passage of an ordinance which would have increased the price of gas for a period of years, he made impossible an increase which would have cost the consumers $3,000,000 in the last six years and opened the way for reductions which are now putting back into the pockets of the consumers $3,500,000. Fine for the consumers but for the manager who simply did his duty, it meant bitter councilmanic and corporate enmities which were satisfied only by his final removal from office. The simple fact is that every time a public official, doing his duty as an honest public servant, saves the people's money, he runs counter to the logic of political management and to the deepest instincts of the professional manipulators of public administration. He is not merely resisting the efforts of some local individuals; he is opposing the whole system of political graft and attacking deeply-rooted opinions which are the ultimate source of political inefficiency and corruption in the United States.

What are these opinions? I can take time to deal only with the one which I believe to be the most insidious, the most harmful, and the most difficult to combat. I refer to the belief, almost universally held in this country, that it is permissible, almost inevitable, that elected officials should use the patronage and power of their public offices to reward the friends who helped them to get into office and those whom they expect to help them stay in office, by appointing them to office, by promoting them to better offices, by giving them contracts or legal immunities or any other advantages made possible by the use of the power of their offices.

In like manner, the contractors and the supply men who contributed to their election are all expected to receive favors, which favors inevitably include some money which would not have been paid to anyone who had not such a claim upon official favor. And so on and so on until the accumulated burdens of these expenditures of public money to pay private debts become intolerable and some reform wave engulfs the official or the administration.

The point I wish to make and which I suggest for your thoughtful consideration is this: Every one of these transactions is at bottom a theft of public money. It is even worse than that; it is a theft of money entrusted to the recipient for a different use and by him diverted to his own use and benefit; it is the kind of theft which in other cases the law calls embezzlement.

WHY GRAFT?

Why do we have vast municipal inefficiency and corruption not to be found in other countries of similar civilization? Why does every political group which gets and retains control of a big American city inevitably travel this descending road to deeper and fouler corruption? Must there not be

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The Extent of Municipal Defaults

Recent wave of defaults by local governments in payment of bonds and interest now on the wane

SANDERS SHANKS, JR. *Editor, The Bond Buyer*

IT HAS been stated on excellent authority that municipal bond defaults occurring in the 1870s involved one-fifth of all outstanding municipal securities. During the recent period of rapid municipal debt expansion (1920-1930) it was seldom that any reference was made to that earlier era of municipal insolvency. For a generation or more there had been practically no such thing as defaults in this field of investment. Investors and a great many investment bankers developed a sort of blind faith in any investment to which the label "municipal" was attached. And because federal income tax exemption was extended to bonds of states and every type of "political subdivision thereof", many millions of dollars worth of bonds were labelled "municipals" which, in fact, were not issued by municipal corporations.

It is clearly recognized that we are now going through a new era of municipal debt defaults. It may be said to have started following the collapse of the Florida land boom in 1926. At first, Florida municipals were considered to be in a class by themselves. What was happening down there, it was generally agreed, could never happen in such regions as North Carolina, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, or Illinois. Looking back from this date, of course, we see that it did happen.

Were an absolutely complete record in existence, it would probably show that not a single state escaped without some cases of municipal default. Records which have been compiled show that defaults were not restricted just to small towns, nor to any one class of taxing district, nor to any one type of bond, such as street improvement issues. The largest city in the United States was in actual default on a substantial amount of debt only a year ago and dozens of other large cities and counties have been during recent years or are still behind on their debt service payments. Both general obligation and special assessment bonds have defaulted. Counties, villages, school districts, and every other type of political subdivision will be found on the delinquent list. And there are a wide variety of reasons for or causes of defaults. In other words, we are experiencing a new era of rather general default on municipal indebtedness. That it is right now on the wane, there can be no doubt. That there may not be another bad period ahead, at least in certain areas, we cannot yet be too sure. There are those who believe we are just at the beginning of a long period of trouble and that the great majority of municipalities must be relieved of some part of their debt burden. The concensus of expert opinion is quite to the contrary, but not many will contend that, without a substantial general business

recovery, the existing indebtedness of the states and their municipalities can be supported.

A RECORD OF DEFAULTS

The writer has been attempting to keep track of the defaults which have occurred during these past few years. With some two hundred thousand separate taxing districts to check, a vast majority of which are of minute size, it is obviously impossible to compile anything approaching a complete record. Because of its very nature, a default is an elusive thing to locate or, if discovered, to find out much about. No one likes to talk about a default. The logical source of information is the delinquent debtor. Next is the banker who sold the bonds which turned out to be a poor investment, and then there is the unfortunate owner. It is not difficult to understand why all three of these interested parties shun publicity concerning the regrettable fact of the default. It is, therefore, with very definite reservations concerning the accuracy of the record that this attempt is made to indicate the extent of municipal debt defaults.

Based on a survey revised to November 1, 1934, the outstanding facts are these:

1. No state government is in default.

2. Counties, municipalities, and special districts in default number approximately 2,600 and their aggregate indebtedness represents about 10 per cent of the total indebtedness of all states, municipalities, and other special districts.

3. Few municipalities in the default classification have failed to pay interest. Unpaid principal actually past due represents only a fraction of the total indebtedness. (In the case of municipal bonds, most of which are issued in serial form, a default on one installment of principal does not throw the balance of the unmatured installments into default.) It has been estimated that the actual amount of past-due principal and interest only slightly exceeds 1 per cent of the total state and municipal debt of the country.

4. The depression in municipal finance appears to have touched bottom some months ago when one state and thirty-seven cities of 30,000 or more population were in the default column. These communities, together with eight coterminous school districts which were also in default, accounted for about 38 per cent of the gross debt of all cities and school districts in that population group. As of this date, we find that fifteen of these cities have met all past-due payments or have worked out a readjustment plan acceptable to a large majority of their creditors. The total debts of the remaining twenty-two cities and of the eight school districts is only 5 per cent of the aggregate debt of all cities in the group.

5. As of November 1, 1934, a summary shows 2,654 counties, municipalities, and other taxing districts in forty states to be in default. Of this number, 1,992 were counties, municipalities, and districts in default on general obligation bonds and 662 were drainage, irrigation, and other special assessment districts. Eliminating these 662 special assessment district defaults as representing a special problem which is not strictly speaking a municipal debt problem, it appears that about one-half of the 1,992 municipal corporations in the default classification are extremely small places and represent a relatively insignificant part of the total debt of all defaulting municipalities. With a view to simplifying the picture, we have listed, by states, the 1,067 municipalities in default having a population of 5,000 or more and find that they are scattered through thirty-seven states.

6. A breakdown of these 1,067 defaults, by states, indicates that the default situation presents a serious problem in the following states where defaulting municipalities number fifty or more: Florida, Louisiana, Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio and Texas. In a few other states, while the number of reported defaults is not large (from ten to fifty), the situation is sufficiently serious to affect adversely the credit of the states and their municipalities and to indicate some fundamental weaknesses in public credit. In this group are Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Tennessee. There are thirteen states in these two groups so that in the remaining thirty-five states there are either no defaults or the problem appears to be that of a comparatively few individual municipalities, rather than one of statewide importance.

7. Recently an attempt was made to ascertain the gross debts of all municipalities of 5,000 or more population on the default list and a figure of roughly $2,225,000,000 was arrived at. Of this debt, $1,881,895,843 is accounted for by defaults in the thirteen states named above as representing the areas in which the default situation is serious:

	GROUP 1	
(9)	Florida	$ 303,137,887
(1)	Louisiana	85,426,650
(21)	Michigan	487,445,513
(18)	New Jersey	209,138,135
(10)	North Carolina	151,123,576
(24)	Ohio	235,159,785
(5)	Texas	110,240,259
(88)		$1,581,671,805
	GROUP 2	
(6)	Alabama	$ 35,037,100
(1)	Arkansas	159,156,180
(2)	Kentucky	13,558,500
(4)	Mississippi	23,694,415
—	Oklahoma	8,074,824
(2)	Tennessee	60,703,019
(15)		$300,224,038

(Figures in parentheses are number of cities of 10,000 or more population in default.)

8. Referring again to the defaulting cities in the 30,000 or more population group, it is interesting to find that twenty-five of the thirty-seven cities are located in the first group of seven states where the default situation has been the most serious, whereas only six of these cities are in the second group of states; the remaining six cities are located in states where no general condition of default exists.

9. In the case of several of the larger cities which must still be considered as being in default, rapid progress is being made in restoring the bonds of these communities to a completely current basis.

LOOKING AHEAD

(Continued from Page 22)

cities, as yet, fall far short of attaining them.

It has been the purpose of this article to call attention to a few of the important factors which determine the most effective use of the moneys available for active recreation. Nothing is more important in achieving the goals which have been outlined than a competent staff of recreation workers. The practice of a niggardly economy as regards their salaries is false economy of the worst sort. Unfortunately, just this type of economy has too frequently been put into effect. A realization, on the part of those public officials in a community who determine the extent of the recreation budget, of the necessity of capable and inspiring leadership, is the first essential of an intelligently made expenditure plan.[1]

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[1]This article is based largely on more extended discussions of these topics found in the writer's book "Financing Municipal Recreation" recently published by the George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wis.

Annual Appraisal of Municipal Reports

Number of reports issued by municipalities during 1934 show great increase over previous years

CLARENCE E. RIDLEY *University of Chicago*

In 1927 Harold W. Dodds, former editor of the Review, created this section of the appraisal of annual municipal reports, with the object in view of encouraging cities to report more systematically and more adequately the facts regarding the operation of city governments. It should be understood that this appraisal applies only to the annual municipal report and attempts in no way to pass judgment on the many other effective methods of public reporting, such as the leaflets, department reports, annual summaries, pamphlets on special subjects, and the like.

During the year 1934 there was issued a total of forty-seven municipal reports which is by far the greatest number published during any annual period of the eight years since this section was created. Sixteen of these general municipal reports easily lend themselves to appraisal on the basis of the criteria set up by the author eight years ago for that purpose. This figure compares with thirteen in 1933, and ten in 1932. The cities with brief comments on their reports follow:

Berkeley, California (82,109): 64 pages. Rating 95. This report reaches a high mark in public reporting. Especially commendable is the listing of the number of employees and total expenditures at the beginning of each activity or function. The charts are well selected, simple, and convincing. The financial statistics are clear and concise.

Alameda, California (35,033): 90 pages. Rating 94. A very attractive report. Its force is weakened somewhat by insufficient condensation and failure to emphasize the important facts. Its chief fault, however, is its length.

Auburn, Maine (18,571): 48 pages. Rating 94. Almost as attractive as the Berkeley report and is well illustrated by charts and diagrams. It contains an excellent summary of chief accomplishments and a list of recommendations.

Cincinnati, Ohio (451,160): 70 pages. Rating 94. This report maintains the high level of public reporting characteristic of Cincinnati. Especially commendable are the letter of transmittal and the financial statement of departmental operating expenditures.

Two Rivers, Wisconsin (10,083): 52 pages. Rating 94. An excellent report in almost every particular. The lateness of issue is the most that can be said against it.

Albert Lea, Minnesota (10,169): 23 pages. Rating 92. Issued in pocket size and only twenty-three pages, yet it contains probably all that the citizen cares to know about his city government.

Dayton, Ohio (200,982): 76 pages. Rating 91. An attractive report and well organized, but fails to emphasize important facts by not using a greater number of charts.

Norfolk, Virginia (129,710): 76 pages. Rating 91. This is especially commendable for the letter of transmittal and the policy of comparing the number of employees and total expenditures at the beginning of each activity.

Ft. Atkinson, Wisconsin (5,793): 44 pages. Rating 89. A good report. Its failure to emphasize important points is its chief defect. Of especial interest is its summary of

"items of interest gleaned from the report", which would probably have been more effective at the front of the report instead of on page 22.

Austin, Texas (53,120): 81 pages. Rating 87. Except for the cover, this report lacks tone; otherwise it is very good.

Lynchburg, Virginia (40,661): 103 pages. Rating 87. Anyone who has ever seen a Lynchburg report would immediately identify this one. Perhaps this rigid uniformity and its size and length are the most important points in its disfavor.

Kenosha, Wisconsin (50,262): 92 pages. Rating 85. For many years Kenosha has been issuing an excellent report. It is enough to say that this is a shade better than its predecessors.

Oregon City, Oregon (5,761): 53 pages. Rating 85. Not so attractive as some of the other reports and a bit short of illustrative material—still a very commendable report.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin (578,249): 150 pages. Rating 80. There are only three things that can be said against this very attractive and comprehensive report—it is too long and it fails to include an administrative organization chart and a letter of transmittal. Otherwise this report would rank with the very best.

San Mateo, California (13,444): 14 pages. Rating 77. An exceptionally good example of good reporting even though it is totally lacking in charts and graphs to illustrate important facts and trends.

Stratford, Connecticut (19,212): 60 pages. Rating 76. This planographed report, while a bit less attractive than the conventional printed report, still merits a high rating. It by no means exhausts the possibilities of this type of printing, however.

WORTHY OF MENTION

Annual reports issued by cities other than those named above and appraised herein, but still well worthy of mention are:

Colorado—Colorado Springs; *Connecticut*—Stamford; *Florida* — Tallahassee; *Georgia*—Columbus; *Illinois*—Winnetka; *Kansas*—Atchison; *Maine*—Belfast, Brewer, Mount Desert, and Washburn; *Massachusetts*—Mansfield and Stoughton; *Michigan*—Ironwood and Kalamazoo; *Nebraska*—Alliance; *New Jersey*—Teaneck; *New York*—Middletown and Niagara Falls; *North Dakota*—Minot; *Ohio*—Ironton, Bedford and East Cleveland; *Pennsylvania*—Carlisle; *Virginia* — Fredericksburg and Front Royal; *West Virginia*—Bluefield and Hinton; *Wisconsin*—Rhinelander and Stevens Point; *Canada*—Chatham and Westmount.

BASES OF APPRAISAL

The twenty criteria upon which the grading of these twelve reports was based are:

I. DATE OF PUBLICATION

1. *Promptness.*—The report will have little value unless published soon after the end of the period covered—six weeks as a maximum.

II. PHYSICAL MAKE-UP

2. *Size.*—Convenient for reading and filing, preferably 6" x 9".

3. *Paper and type.*—Paper should be of such a grade and the type of such size and character as to be easily read.

4. *Important facts.*—The more important facts should be emphasized by change of type or by artistic presentation.

5. *Attractiveness.*—The cover, title, introduction, and general appearance should aim to attract the reader and encourage further examination.

III. CONTENT

A. *Illustrative Material*

6. *Diagrams and charts.*—Certain established rules should be followed to insure an accurate and effective presentation.

7. *Maps and pictures.*—A few well-chosen maps to indicate certain improvements, and a liberal supply of pictures, pertinent to the report, should be included.

8. *Distribution.*—Great care should be exercised in placing the illustrative material contiguous to the relevant reading material.

B. *Composition*

9. *Table of contents.*—A short table of contents in the front of the report is a great aid for ready reference.

10. *Organization chart.*—An organization chart or table indicating the services rendered by each unit, if placed in the front of the

TABLE I

COMPARATIVE RATINGS OF MUNICIPAL REPORTS

Explanation—The number "5" denotes approach to an acceptable standard, while "0" indicates the value on that particular criterion to be practically negligible. Intervening numbers denote the degree of variation between these two extremes. A total of 100 would indicate a perfect score.

Criteria	Alameda, Calif.	Albert Lea, Minn.	Auburn, Maine	Austin, Texas	Berkeley, Calif.	Cincinnati, Ohio	Dayton, Ohio	Ft. Atkinson, Wis.	Kenosha, Wis.	Lynchburg, Va.	Milwaukee, Wis.	Norfolk, Va.	Oregon City, Ore.	San Mateo, Calif.	Stratford, Conn.	Two Rivers, Wis.
I. Date of Publication																
1. Promptness	4	5	4	3	3	4	2	1	0	2	2	1	2	3	1	3
II. Physical Make-up																
2. Size	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5
3. Paper and type	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	3	5
4. Important facts	4	4	4	3	5	4	4	3	4	4	4	5	4	3	3	4
5. Attractiveness	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	4	4	3	5
III. Content																
A. Illustrative Material																
6. Diagrams and Charts	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	0	3	4
7. Maps and pictures	5	3	4	4	5	5	5	4	4	4	5	4	2	4	3	5
8. Distribution	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
B. Composition																
9. Table of contents	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5	5
10. Organization chart	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5	5	0	5	5
11. Letter of transmittal	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5	5	5	5	5
12. Recommendations and accomplishments	5	2	5	4	4	4	4	5	3	4	4	4	3	4	2	5
13. Length	3	5	5	3	4	4	3	5	3	2	1	3	4	5	4	4
14. Literary style	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
15. Arrangement	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5
16. Balanced content	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5
17. Statistics	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	5	4	5	4	4
18. Comparative data	5	5	5	4	4	4	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	4	3	5
19. Financial statements	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	5
20. Propaganda	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Totals	94	92	94	87	95	94	91	89	85	87	80	91	85	77	76	94

report, will help the reader to a clearer understanding of what follows.

11. *Letter of transmittal.*—A short letter of transmittal which either contains or is followed by a summary of outstanding accomplishments and recommendations for the future should open the report.

12. *Recommendations and accomplishments*—A comparison of past recommendations with the progress toward their execution will serve as an index to the year's achievements.

13. *Length.*—Fifty pages should be the maximum length.

14. *Literary style.*—The text should be clear and concise, reflecting proper attention to grammar, sentence structure, and diction.

15. *Arrangement.*—The report of the various governmental units should correlate with the organization structure, or follow some other logical arrangement.

16. *Balanced content.*—The material should show a complete picture, and each activity should occupy space in proportion to its relative importance.

17. *Statistics.*—Certain statistics must be included, but wherever appropriate, they should be supplemented by simple diagrams or charts.

18. *Comparative data.*—The present year's accomplishments should be compared with those of previous years, but only with full consideration of all factors involved.

19. *Financial statements.*—Three or four financial statements should be included, showing amount expended and the means of financing each function and organization unit.

20. *Propaganda.*—It is unethical and in poor taste to include material for departmental or personal aggrandizement. Photographs of officials, especially of administrators, seem out of place in a public report.

COMPARISON WITH PREVIOUS YEARS

In those cities that have been issuing annual reports for the last several years, there has been a noticeable improvement as indicated by Table II.

TABLE II

City	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Austin, Texas	54	65	81	82	88	89	87
Auburn, Maine			72	69	88	89	94
Cincinnati, Ohio	83	87	89	89	93	93	94
Kenosha, Wisconsin	79	68	79	79	79	83	85
Two Rivers, Wisconsin	67	78	84	86	92	85	94
Wichita, Kansas			68	72	92	92	—
Average Rating	71	74	79	80	89	89	91

Table III below summarizes the appraisal of all municipal reports included in this section during the past eight years.

TABLE III

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Number of Reports Reviewed	12	17	20	16	14	10	13	16
Average Length (pages)	90	78	90	60	72	75	66	68
Promptness in Issuing Report (in months)	4.5	3.7	4.7	4.1	3.7	3.2	4.1	4.2
Physical Make-up (per cent)	78	78	82	86	81	82	87	90
Illustrative Material (per cent)	62	58	65	74	74	83	87	86
Composition (per cent)	64	66	72	79	85	89	87	87

From the foregoing it is evident that improvement is discernible in both the quantity and quality of annual municipal reports. It is encouraging to observe a distinct increase in the number of cities issuing reports. At last it appears that city administrators are becoming aware of the necessity for keeping the public informed on public matters in order to develop sustained and intelligent citizen interest and support.

PARTY AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL

(Continued from Page 18)

The results of the recent election have led not a few editors, even some who are supporters of the Republican party, to raise the question as to whether the country is not witnessing the passing of a major political party. It has led responsible Republican leaders to sound the call for new blood and more imaginative leadership. The question naturally arises as to whether the hope and prospects of rehabilitating the Republican party do not lie with the younger generation. This brings home the need of having a younger generation trained in the analysis and understanding of public affairs and imbued with a conviction as to its responsibility for sharing, as a definite avocation, in political duties from which such a leadership can be recruited. The upper levels of our educational system are challenged today as never before. They should assume the responsibility that they have so long considered to be theirs but never accepted. The training of youth in the realities of economics and politics, instead of in the forms and structures of government, is now mandatory. It is no less necessary that this training should include a stimulation to assume the burden of party activity.

Finally, the ways should be made smooth whereby young people can enter into party activities with all that that involves. Tens of thousands of young men and women up and down the country would be glad to serve a real apprenticeship if they only knew where to begin. As it is today, the bridge between academic life and party interest is trod largely by those who are seeking some personal advantage, comparatively rarely by those who look upon politics as an avocation and one which is prescribed if self-government is to exist and endure. The time has definitely come for the systematic recruitment of the abler and more public-spirited of our youth into the ranks of party workers.

The Police Attack Crime

A thorough overhauling of police methods and criminal procedure urged at round table conference on police and crime.

DONALD C. STONE

Director, Consulting and Research Division, Public Administration Service

THE problem of controlling crime, which has been a serious one for many years, is at last receiving the attention which its importance merits. In all levels of police administration consideration is being given to the solution of critical problems. Forward-looking proposals were brought into focus at the round table on police and crime at the recent conference of the National Municipal League.

The group was unanimous in agreeing that changes in social customs—the rise of the automobile, high powered systems of transportation, the centralization of economic activity, the radio, movies, and similar developments—have contributed to creating a totally different police problem. The kind of personnel, procedures, and theories of criminal justice of twenty years ago no longer apply today. The growth of racketeering in its many vicious forms illustrates the changed aspects of crime.

Police representatives at the round table pointed out that until 1929 no information of a nation-wide character was available concerning the amount, nature, and location of crime, but that the Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Association of Chiefs of Police had developed a system of crime reporting which is now operated by the United States Department of Justice. Comparisons over a few years are now available for the first time. Recent reports published by the Department of Justice show that murder, robberies, and auto thefts have decreased during the past year as compared with previous years whereas burglaries and larcenies have increased somewhat.

Major attention was devoted to federal-state-municipal police relationships. The participants believed that federal police agencies should be further consolidated and made more effective, through increase in personnel and further expansion of jurisdiction, to include all crimes of an essentially interstate nature. It was not thought desirable for the federal government to go further than this, there being real danger in too much centralization of police authority. Personnel recruiting, training, administrative and police science, and tactical methods employed by the Division of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice were believed to offer police patterns which state and local forces might copy to advantage.

With respect to state and local police agencies, the proposal was looked on with favor that all cities should maintain their police departments free from state control, but that all area within the state outside of the cities should be policed by a state police force. An

alternative was suggested for rural policing to the end that counties be consolidated and county forces be maintained in the more populous ones. However, only a very small percentage of the counties even with consolidation would contain sufficient population to warrant the size of force necessary to permit the kind of specialization indispensible in modern police administration. No one at the round table came to the defence of the sheriff system which was condemned as an outworn, ineffective, and political institution.

Consolidation of municipal police was also urged. Around urban centers, satellite cities maintain their separate departments with a resulting loss of police effectiveness. The communities which are too small to establish a well organized department should either be consolidated with adjoining departments, if any, or should be policed by the state.

Crime prevention was emphasized as a new attack which the police must make on crime. Effective repressive and apprehension methods were believed to be the first link in a prevention program. The change from foot to motorized patrol has made the patrolman less useful in his constructive contacts along the beat. He comes in less personal contact with the families and individuals and thereby is not able to identify problem situations readily. To compensate for this loss and to apply better methods of treatment to delinquent and problem cases, police departments have established policewomen and crime prevention bureaus. Some of these have not been as effective as they should because of incompetent and inadequate personnel.

A higher standard of police personnel and the elimination of politics from the force was demanded by all participants at the round table. The complex ramifications of police work and the great variety of scientific methods needed require intelligent and well trained men. Commendation was made of the widespread use of the police adaptability test prepared by the United States Civil Service Commission and made available by the Public Administration Service. An intensive program of research in personnel requirements and test methods was recommended. The adoption of a formal recruiting system and the subjection of all police to extensive training was believed to pave the way for the elimination of politics by persuading the public that police administration is a professional and technical calling.

Great expansion of police training was proposed. One police executive stated that six months of continuous training was not sufficient to equip his recruits with the necessary police elementaries before being exposed to front line of duty.

Favorable reference was made to the training schools in some of the larger city departments, and to the state-wide programs conducted by some of the state leagues of municipalities, and state associations of chiefs of police. But they are just scratching the surface. The participants considered approvingly the suggestion that the federal government take the initiative working through the state governments and state municipal leagues and police associations in providing training facilities for persons desiring to enter police work as well as for those already within the service.

Methods of coördinating the police with other law enforcement agencies was argued at length. While recognizing the need of tying the police and prosecution more closely together, the group was not unanimous in proposing that the police should do their own prosecution as in England. All agreed, however, that the police should at least

add a legal staff to assist the investigating officers in preparing the cases turned over to the prosecution agency and to see that all appropriate evidence is secured. The coördination of federal prosecution with the division of investigation was commended.

A thorough overhauling of criminal procedure was urged by the round table delegates. This would include the elimination of technicalities, the elimination of steps which favor the defendant and hinder the ascertainment of truth, and the reorganization of justice agencies to provide a more administrable and efficient system. The model code of criminal procedure formulated by the American Law Institute and federal procedure were suggested as excellent guides in this revision process.

Coördinating councils found favor in the eyes of the delegates. These councils, which are particularly prevalent on the west coast, consist of the heads of the several law enforcement and social agencies in the community who meet together frequently to discuss common problems and to map out crime prevention programs. Some councils employ a technical staff. In this way duplication can be eliminated while gaps in the welfare and criminal justice machinery can be closed.

CLEVELAND STILL DISSATISFIED

(Continued from Page 31)

some fundamental error, some deep-seated poison, in the ideas and methods which unfailingly produce the same hideous results?

Is not the answer to be found in that other fact in which we so radically differ from them, the fact that we are the only civilized people who *elect* municipal executives who are to handle great sums of money, dispose of enormous patronage, and exercise great police powers and are expected, as a matter of course, to use all of these to pay their private political debts, promote their political fortunes and generally advantage themselves in any safe way?

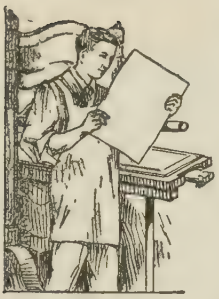
We Americans have long treated politics as a thing apart and the public business as something outside of all of the ordinary rules of business. Is it not time that we have done with this folly?

Have we any right to complain of the bitter fruits of a national apathy and folly which has allowed the very sources of government to be corrupted by thievery and embezzlement on the grand scale? Is not the rooting out of these evils the first and inescapable preliminary to real improvement of government in this country?

Do I seem to leave little room or incentive for the effort to bring in better methods of government, such as P. R. and the manager plan? By no means. It is when the old methods of municipal government are brought into conflict with the ideals and methods of the manager plan that we realize precisely what it is that we are fighting. A fine ideal is the first essential to fine achievement along any line. The pursuit of such an ideal not only brings us sharply up against sordid reality but gives us faith and power to overcome it. And nobody knows better than those who temporarily destroyed the manager plan in Cleveland that it, or something like it, will ultimately prevail.

As for P. R., it or something like it will surely prevail at last because it provides a better form of representation of the elements to be governed and the ideal government must finally be the one which most truly knows, expresses and enforces the will of all its people.

Editor's Note. Address delivered at the annual dinner of the Proportional Representation League, held in conjunction with the National Conference on Government, Pittsburgh, November 27, 1934.



NEWS OF THE MONTH

NOTES AND EVENTS

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

City Manager Defeats and Triumphs.— On November 27 Little Rock, Arkansas, (see following note) and Norfolk, Nebraska (population 10,717), defeated city manager charter proposals. On the other hand, Limerick, Ireland (population 38,578), has just adopted the city manager plan; Washington Courthouse, Ohio, (8,426) also approved the plan at the November 6 election, to go into effect January 1, 1936.

The Irish government is reported to have the intention to introduce legislation to provide for county managers throughout the entire Irish Free State.

*

Little Rock, Arkansas, Disapproves Home Rule City Manager Proposal.— Little Rock (population 81,659), the capital of Arkansas, by a vote of 1,607 to 2,022 on November 27 turned down a home rule measure providing for a charter commission empowered to establish city manager government.

Certain defects in state laws providing for city manager government were brought out, and it is expected that the 1935 legislature will be asked to correct them. By the law authorizing home rule the charter commission was permitted to select a board of control which would "elect a manager and such other officers as may be necessary to properly run and conduct the affairs of the city . . . " The first board of control might thus not be a representative body, and might be expected to elect more officials than the city manager idea contemplates.

Although Arkansas law provides for city manager government in cities within certain population ranges, not a single city has voted to operate under this form. As a result of interest aroused by Little Rock's experience, several smaller cities are weighing the possibilities of city manager government for them.

KENNETH O. WARNER
University of Arkansas

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Federal and Municipal Coöperation.— The executive board and a special committee of the International City Managers' Association has prepared a statement suggesting action to be taken in order to improve the relations of cities and the federal government as to relief, public works, and housing.

The following recommendations on relief are included:

1. That the federal government establish as soon as possible a federal department of public welfare to replace the temporary emergency organization.

2. That this federal welfare agency adopt and announce a long-time relief program, so that local governments may make adequate plans for at least two years.

3. That more attention be given to the area of administration so as to include a territory large enough to secure effective management of relief and welfare, with centralized responsibility but decentralized administration.

4. That the work program be expanded and that wage rates for work projects be no higher than prevailing wages for similar work in the particular locality.

With regard to public works, the Association's main recommendations are:

1. That there be but one federal agency to deal with cities in all public works matters and that the country be divided into regions for decentralized administration.

2. That responsibility for direct supervision

and inspection of work be given to local units of government, subject to the general supervision of regional administrators.

3. That regulations be simplified, payments on grants speeded up and cities given the benefit of the interest rates available to the federal government.

The Association's suggestions for housing are:

1. That the FERA encourage a wider use of white-collar workers on housing, traffic, and other surveys to determine all relevant facts on housing conditions.

2. That the housing division of PWA encourage local units to create housing authorities to coöperate with the federal government and to assume responsibility for developing programs for improving housing.

3. That the housing division of PWA, in coöperation with city officials, develop a definite long-time program for improving housing conditions.

*

City Attorneys Organize.— The Institute of Municipal Law Officers was formed by city attorneys meeting in Chicago recently as an organization of law officials of cities of 50,000 or more. It will constitute a central clearing house for mutual aid on their problems. City legal problems and legislation beneficial to municipal corporations will have the special attention of the Institute.

Henry E. Foley, corporation counsel of Boston, was elected president and Raymond J. Kelly, corporation counsel of Detroit, vice-president. Paul V. Betters, executive director of the American Municipal Association and the United States Conference of Mayors, will act in the same capacity for the attorneys. Headquarters will be at 850 East 58th Street, Chicago.

*

Idaho Approves Minor Amendments but Defeats Important County Changes.— Idaho voters acted upon six proposed constitutional amendments at the general election on November 6. Four were approved. The rejection of the other two—in many respects the most significant ones—confirms the often repeated observation that public opinion still has an abiding faith in the value of checks as a safeguard of its welfare.

A proposal to permit six-men juries in minor civil cases was approved, 84,170 to 35,783. An amendment providing for repeal of the prohibition clause in the Idaho constitution, and conferring full power of liquor regulation upon the legislature was approved, 85,469 to 53,788. A proposal to make permanent the statutory requirement for non-partisan election of the judiciary was approved, 76,050 to 37,856. The electorate also adopted, by a vote of 61,319 to 53,257, an amendment changing the term of county commissioners to four years for two of the three members of each county board, the third member to be elected for two years only. The principal argument for this change was that the presence of at least one experienced member on the board would assure some continuity from year to year.

Two other amendments, aimed at correcting definite weaknesses in the governmental structure, were lost. The first of these was for the purpose of making the initiative and referendum clause of the Idaho constitution workable. Although adopted in 1911, it has never been used. According to the existing arrangement a measure must receive an absolute majority of all votes cast for governor at any election in order to become law. The amendment up for consideration stipulated that any measure receiving a majority of the votes cast on the issue would become law. Although the Idaho constitution itself can be amended by the latter procedure, the electorate, by a vote of 53,415 to 54,949, refused to endorse this principle for ordinary statutes.

The final amendment, and the one which seemed to offer the greatest possibilities for the future, provided that the only constitutional elective officials in the county would be the county board of three commissioners, and empowered the legislature to enact legislation covering other county officials. The object in view was to permit some degree of flexibility in county government and at the same time open the way toward future concentration of responsibility through consolidation of offices.

With a total population of 445,032, Idaho is divided into forty-four counties, varying widely in population and wealth. Each of these counties, by virtue of constitutional provision, has the same governmental setup, with a county board, sheriff, prosecuting attorney, probate judge, auditor, assessor, treasurer, superintendent of schools, surveyor, and coroner, not to mention one or more justices of the peace. The amendment failed, 70,855 to 38,503. Undoubtedly fear of legis-

lative caprice was responsible for many negative votes from the more thoughtful portion of the electorate; but if the amendment had passed, it would have permitted county classification and possibly statutory home rule for counties. This would have served as an entering wedge and undoubtedly would have paved the way for further progressive modification in the future, such as some type of reorganization in the direction of the county executive.

L. H. CHAMBERLAIN

University of Moscow

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Legislative Coöperation Regarding Traffic Law Problems in West.— When legislatures of eleven western states—Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming—meet in January 1935, they will consider recommendations of the Western Motor Vehicle Conference for bettering the regulation of highway use. The executive committee of the conference, whose members are legislative and administrative officials from the eleven states, met on December 17-18 in Phoenix, Arizona, to give final study to these recommendations, which were drawn up at a conference held in Salt Lake City last June.

*

Civil Service Publicity and Improvement.— The Municipal Civil Service Commission of the City of New York has emphasized to New York newspapers and trade journals that the effective functioning of the commission depends largely upon such channels of publicity. It has invited suggestions from those sources as to methods of getting information to the public in order that better qualified candidates can be secured for city positions and, on the other hand, to prevent excessive numbers of applicants from preparing for limited numbers of positions; and also to assist the commission's efforts to stop violations of the merit system and to fit compensation to the type of service.

*

Reorganization of State Government Expected in Oregon.— As reported by Wallace S. Wharton in the *New York Times* for December 16, reorganization of Oregon's state government through abolition of the state board of control, consisting of the elected governor, secretary of state, and state treasurer, will be one of the first interests of General Charles H. Martin when inaugurated governor on January 14. The establishment of the cabinet form for all executive branches is considered a likely alternative. The legislature is expected to coöperate. The three-man board has been the real executive power of the state in the formulation and execution of policies, although the governor is charged with ultimate responsibility in the eyes of the people and largely by the law. The result tends to be chaotic and irresponsible.

*

Rehousing Assumes Increased Importance.— New emphasis has been placed by the federal administration upon housing as a means of relief and recovery, and it is expected that public housing activities will be accelerated.

The National Association of Housing Officials has issued a report entitled "A Housing Program for the United States," recommending the definite recognition of governmental responsibility for housing the low-income groups of citizens whose housing needs are not taken care of adequately by ordinary commercial enterprise, and suggesting the following ultimate distribution of duties in a housing program:

> 1. The federal government would be prepared to use its credit and to give financial assistance in forms likely to stimulate local initiative and local participation in the cost. It would enact for itself and encourage the enactment by the states of legislation giving suitable powers. It would formulate general and regional standards and would coördinate all branches of the work. It would collect and distribute relevant information, undertake research, and make trial demonstrations.
>
> 2. The states would enact suitable legislation enabling appropriate agencies to be set up with adequate powers, which would include those for acquiring land by condemnation, for financing, and for making contributions to the cost. They should undertake regulation and regional oversight. . .
>
> 3. Upon the local governments or upon special local agencies associated with them, would be gradually devolved the responsibility for assuring the provision of, and maintaining, housing accommoda-

tions adequate in standard for their citizens. . .

According to the first number of *Public Housing Progress,* published by the National Public Housing Conference, New York City, under date of November 15, the housing activities now under way through financing by the Public Works Administration include the demolition of 250 houses in New York City as part of a slum clearance program; the acquisition of options for 64 per cent of the property for the Williamsburg housing project in Brooklyn, N. Y.; condemnation proceedings in an area of thirty-seven blocks in Chicago; the destruction of houses in Atlanta preparatory to low-rent housing construction; and progress in the construction of the Louisville housing project is also reported. Later information from the Conference is to the effect that work is being pushed to develop thirty-nine projects in thirty-three cities which have been approved by Colonel Horatio B. Hackett, director of the Housing Division, PWA. However, only seven states—New York, Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, West Virginia, South Carolina and Illinois—have enacted legislation permitting the organization of local housing authorities; such authorities have been established in New York City and Schenectady, New York; Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, Columbus, Dayton and Youngstown, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; and Columbia, South Carolina. A recent bulletin of the Housing Division says of municipal housing authorities: "While the present emergency places authorities in an advisory rather than initiative capacity, the PWA hopes they will shortly be in a position sufficiently qualified to undertake full responsibility for all future activities within their jurisdiction." Cities without authorities are by no means barred from submitting projects.

In some cities, including Richmond, Atlanta, Birmingham, Indianapolis, Miami, Louisville, Milwaukee, Montgomery, Nashville, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Chicago and Schenectady, advisory committees have been appointed by the PWA to coördinate the activities of local authorities and civic organizations, and to assist the housing division during the period of development and reconstruction. These may be the precursors of municipal housing authorities in their communities.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

Edited by Paul W. Wager

Virginia—Uniform System of Accounts and Legal Records Established in Counties.—When the state government, a few years ago, instituted through the state auditor's office an audit of county treasurers the conditions found were little short of chaotic; book-keeping and accounting methods were poor, and shortages in the accounts of county treasurers were the rule rather than the exception. The fact that the audit this year (1934) showed no shortages is due no doubt to the uniform system of accounting established by the state auditor's office, as well as to the effective state fiscal supervision.

When the state-wide trial justice system went into effect this year the state auditor, Mr. Downs, reminded of our experience in the county treasurer's office, hastened (within fifteen days) to install in each of the new county offices a uniform system of accounting and a system of keeping legal records. The latter system includes three separate dockets, namely, a criminal docket, a civil docket, and a juvenile and domestic relations docket. These printed forms call for all pertinent information and will enable trial justices to avoid the chaos of accounts and records found in previous state contacts with county governments.

James E. Pate
William and Mary College

Wisconsin—Milwaukee Voters Favor City-County Consolidation.—The voters in the city and county of Milwaukee gave a decisive majority on November 6 to city-county consolidation in that district in two advisory referenda. The following question was submitted to the voters of the city of Milwaukee: Do you favor changes in the law which will make one officer elected in each assembly district in the city of Milwaukee the representative of said district on both the county board of supervisors of Milwaukee County and the common council of the city of Milwaukee?

A second question, as follows, was submitted to both city and county voters: Do you favor effecting by such county board, or legislative action, or amendment to the state

constitution as may be necessary, consolidation of municipal services and governments in Milwaukee County?

The cities of Milwaukee, West Allis, and Cudahy and the county as a whole favored consolidation. This vote was expected in Milwaukee city, but the action of the voters in West Allis and Cudahy is considered a surprise. Every ward in Milwaukee city approved the propositions emphatically. As was to be expected, most of the suburbs voted against the proposal, although in some instances the vote was close. In Milwaukee city the vote on the consolidation of council and board of supervisors (as far as city representatives are concerned) was: yes, 95,406; no, 24,866. On general consolidation the city voted: yes, 88,845; no, 19,855. The vote for the county as a whole on the subject of general consolidation was: yes, 102,895; no, 39,827.

The question of city-county consolidation in this area was agitated as early as 1906. The problem has been actively stressed this year. Discussion in the early part of the year led to a general demand that the county board and the common council appoint a committee to study the question. These bodies accordingly provided for a joint committee on consolidation, composed of thirty citizens, headed by John Doerfler, a former Socialist alderman, and including Frank E. Baker, president of the Milwaukee State Teachers' College and Henry Ohl, president of the State Federation of Labor. Richard E. Krug, municipal reference librarian, acted as secretary. At the request of this committee, the county board and the common council voted in the fall to place the advisory referenda on the ballot. Since neither is binding upon the regular legislative bodies, future action will rest with the local boards, the state legislature, and the voters of the entire state.

This fall the joint committee issued a number of interesting reports on the situation of overlapping governments in the area. This section includes ninety-three taxing units composed of sixty-four common school districts, five city school districts, five vocational school districts, five cities, five villages, seven towns (townships), one county, and a metropolitan sewage district. These units elect 464 public officials, who in turn employ 13,000 other civil servants. Eighteen county board members are elected from the same territory which sends twenty-seven aldermen to the city council.

Elections in the county are managed by eighty-three independent units. The city of Milwaukee and Milwaukee County maintain separate election commissions.

Property assessment is divided among seventeen independent assessment departments, of which only the cities of Milwaukee and West Allis have mechanized the clerical work on assessment and tax rolls. Eighty-two local public treasurers are popularly elected. Eleven agencies have a hand in the collection and distribution of public money. At the same time, the city of Milwaukee has enough mechanical devices in treasury work to care for the entire county.

Milwaukee County's fifty-five parks are in the hands of seven different overlapping governments. The development of the lake front is controlled by four separate units. The city operates three parks in the county outside the city limits, while the county operates three parks in the county inside the city limits. The city of Milwaukee operates a park in the village of Fox Point. Duplication of expensive machinery is one of the results. The joint committee pointed out the necessity for a unified park police system.

Added to this are eleven fire departments, a large number of separate police services, and seventeen health departments, only two of these affording a full time health official, and only eleven employing full time nurses. The city of Milwaukee alone is able to afford a completely organized public works department.

The joint committee's recommendations include the authorization by the legislature of a new form of local government for Milwaukee County, subject to approval by local referendum; the formation of zones in the county with differential tax rates; the abolition by amendment of constitutional offices unsuited to the new form; the provision by constitutional amendment for gradual consolidation of individual services, and an amendment to provide that debts contracted prior to consolidation should remain burdens of the original area alone.

Opposition comes from communities seeking to preserve local identity, political positions, and favorable financial positions, the

latter in part based on the system of state aids.

*

Optional County Commission System Declared Unconstitutional.—The supreme court of Wisconsin, in a decision handed down November 6 (*State ex rel. Wally Adams et al. v. Jonas Radcliffe* et al.) declared unconstitutional the statute (section 59.95 Wisconsin Statutes) which authorizes counties to adopt the commission form of government in lieu of government by the large county board of supervisors. The case involved action by members of the former county board in Vilas County who challenged the right of five recently chosen county commissioners to hold their offices. The section of the constitution upon which the decision was based is Article IV, section 23, which provides: "The legislature shall establish but one system of town and county government, which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable." The opinion, written by Justice Wickhem, said: "It is evident that the requirement that there shall be but one system is absolute." The court was "unable to escape the conclusion that section 59.95 makes optional with all counties, save one, the adoption of a fundamentally different system or form of county government, and thus violates the constitutional requirement of unity."

Rusk and Burnett counties have operated under the commission form for some years. Vilas, Douglas, and Sawyer recently adopted the system.

The decision constitutes a sharp reversal of the growing trend towards modernization of the antiquated system of county government in Wisconsin. As a result, barring the adoption of the commission form for Wisconsin as a whole, certainly highly improbable, the only course remaining is the tedious process of constitutional amendment. The court has forcefully demonstrated anew the need for a general revision of constitutional systems.

LEE S. GREENE

University of Wisconsin

*

Kentucky—Looking Toward Consolidation.—The Kentucky Tax Reduction Association is interested in promoting the idea of county consolidation in the Blue Grass State. Recently it published a brief statement of pertinent facts on Kentucky counties with the idea of consolidation in mind. Some of the more interesting of these facts are:

Kentucky has more counties than any state in the Union except Texas and Georgia. Yet there are thirty-five states larger than Kentucky. One county in California is more than half the size of the entire state of Kentucky.

Today there is a courthouse within twenty minutes drive of any point in forty-nine counties, traveling in a twenty-year-old Model T, on twenty cents worth of gasoline.

In forty counties the county seat has a population of less than 1,000 people. In twenty-nine counties the total population of each is less than 10,000.

There are fifty-seven counties in which the assessed valuation of all property is less than the assessed valuation of three office buildings in Louisville.

In thirty-four counties the total revenue deprived from local taxation is less than the amount of state aid paid to those counties. Forty per cent of all state aid comes from two counties.

Seventeen counties are not getting enough local tax revenue to pay ordinary overhead expense and interest charges on their county debt, leaving less than nothing for direct services to the people of those counties.

There are numerous groups of three adjoining counties which cost approximately twice as much to run as a single county of approximately the same size and population. The natural conclusion is that if three adjoining counties were combined into one, throughout the state, the cost of county government in Kentucky would be cut approximately in half.

The constitution of the commonwealth provides that the general assembly "may abolish counties." The law now provides for separate taxing districts, which would make it possible to pay off the present county debt by taxes levied within the present boundaries of counties, and not impose the debt burden of one county upon another, as a result of consolidation.

J. W. MANNING

University of Kentucky

TAXATION AND GOVERNMENT
Edited by Wade S. Smith

Buffalo Tax Drive Continued Through December 31.— So successful has been the Pay Your Taxes Campaign sponsored and directed by the Buffalo Junior Chamber of Commerce that on recommendation of Mayor Zimmerman it has been continued through December 31, according to information received from Mr. Denton A. Fuller, Jr., chairman of the campaign committee. As of November 28, some $2,700,000 in cash and $2,000,000 in pledges to pay under a five-year installment plan had been received. City Treasurer James D. Hoban is confident that by the end of the campaign over $5,000,000 will either be paid in in cash or pledged.

The total delinquency represented by tax certificates owned by the city as of June 1 was $7,448,465. As of November 28, 8,000 delinquents had paid their back taxes in cash and 6,000 had pledged to pay on the installment plan. "This means," writes Mr. Fuller, "that 14,000 out of the 18,000 delinquents have become taxpaying citizens during the campaign."

In addition to the delinquent collections, substantial credit for the current year's collections of about $2,000,000 more than at November 30, 1933, is attributed to the campaign. As of November 30, 1934, 46.21 per cent of the current levy of $24,614,897 was collected as compared with 44.9 per cent for the same period in 1933 on a levy for that year of $21,262,218.

*

Special Bureau Collects for San Francisco.—Collections in the first quarter of the current fiscal year of a total of over $325,000 in delinquent items, of which some $295,600 was from the delinquent tax list of the fiscal year 1933-34, on an expenditure of but $2,700 of the budget allowance of $10,000, is the record of the Bureau of Delinquent Revenue Collections of San Francisco. The bureau was created in March, 1932, and handles not only tax items but also every type of account originating in any department which is 90 days delinquent.

Writes Director I. A. Richardson of the Bureau: "We have utilized every available collection medium, aside from the strict requirements of the law where judgments have been obtained. In many of these cases we did not attempt to execute upon said judgments in the manner prescribed by law, nor did we endeavor to confiscate the person's property. We utilized a type or form of subpoena, which carried great weight in bringing in people who previously had been notified by letter or otherwise." Persons subpoenaed appear before the department and are examined to determine their ability or inability to pay, with appropriate action following.

Over a period of two years and seven months, the department has been able to collect about three-quarters of a million dollars. For accounts other than real property taxes, a partial payment system, discretionary with the director, has been established.

San Francisco has made the most notable collection record for any city in its population class, according to the compilation of tax delinquency made early last year by Dr. Frederick L. Bird. Its percentage of delinquency (real property tax) for the year ending 1933 was only 5.4 per cent.

*

Ohio Passes Sales Levy to Meet Tax Limit Crisis.—The Ohio legislature, meeting in special session, adopted on December 12 a tax program to meet the extraordinary needs for new revenue caused by the reduction of the property tax limit from 1.5 per cent to 1 per cent. A 3-cent sales tax, continuation of a 1-cent fuel tax for schools and other levies, and an increase of the tax on productive intangibles from 5 to 6 per cent, were among the items on the tax program.

The sales tax is expected to gross $60,000,000, of which some $20,000,000 is expected to go for state purposes, according to *The Bond Buyer*. Of the remaining $40,000,000, 60 per cent will be distributed to the school districts and 40 per cent to the municipalities. The money will be distributed to each county in the ratio of its assessed valuations to those of the state as a whole, and will be redistributed by the County Budget Commissions as they see fit to any municipality within the county having the right to appeal to the State Tax Commission. Governor White's approval of the entire program is said to be assured.

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Baby Bonds and Increased Tax Collections Save Milwaukee.—Experience of one

major American city with baby bond financing is told by the *Milwaukee Journal* in a recent article by J. E. Harris.

In April 1933, Milwaukee city pay-days were halted to keep cash for July debt payments. The city's only resources, aside from the sinking funds, were delinquent taxes, but no banking credit could be secured against them. In May the council authorized $6,000,000 in "Series A" baby bonds, all of which were eventually issued. Later another $5,000,000 of "Series B" baby bonds were authorized, of which only $1,885,830 have been issued. All the bonds were secured by city owned delinquent tax certificates on choice, improved property.

Employees receiving the bonds for salaries and wages had hard sledding for the first few months. Confidence in the city's credit was low, merchants refused to accept the baby bonds, large investors shunned them, and speculators bought them in at ridiculously low prices. City employees bore the brunt of placing the issues in circulation, and little by little merchants began to accept them at par. Then in September, delinquent tax receipts had accumulated sufficiently so that $100,000 of the bonds were called for redemption, at par. Other calls later in 1933 and early in 1934 resulted in increasing confidence, and the price of the bonds began to rise. When a call for $250,000 worth was made early in December last, less than $60,000 was cashed at the treasurer's office. Of the $7,885,830 issued, only $5,194,723 are still outstanding, of which $1,000,000 are either held by the treasurer or could be retired if presented. It is estimated that the entire issue has been turned over to account for about $20,000,000 worth of business transactions in the city.

Restoration of delinquent tax collections is of course basic to the present investment status of the baby bonds. As of November 27, 1934, $850,000 had been paid during the month on delinquent taxes, as compared with $550,000 paid in all November, 1933. At the same date, payments for the year totalled $11,068,000, as compared with $6,000,000 in all of 1933.

*

New York City Adopts Sales Tax for Relief Revenues.—New revenue bills to provide approximately $58,000,000 for the city's share of relief costs were signed by Mayor LaGuardia on December 5. The new levies for the City of New York include a city sales tax of 2 per cent on virtually all commodities except food stuffs and medicines, a 3 per cent tax on the gross income of public utility corporations, and a city tax on inheritances equal to 40 per cent of the state inheritance tax.

The inheritance tax went into effect immediately, and the 2 per cent sales tax on Monday, December 10. The 3 per cent utilities tax became effective on January 1, 1935. One immediate result of the passage of the revenue measures was the floating of a short-term relief loan of $15,000,000, carrying an interest rate of only 1¾ per cent.

Instructions indicated that the sales tax was to be paid by the purchaser directly, and might not be absorbed within the price by the seller. Under a schedule prepared by Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick, the tax was to be applied as follows: purchases of less than 12 cents, exempt; purchases of from 13 to 63 cents, 1 cent tax; purchases of from 64 to 99 cents, 2 cents tax; levy on higher amounts figured at 2 cents for each even dollar. The sharply regressive nature of this schedule has resulted in revisions being planned, which are pending as this is written. Clarification of other details of the administration of the tax are to be made by amendment as soon as possible.

*

Pay Your Taxes Campaign Publications.—A pamphlet series on "Current Tax Problems" is being issued by the National Municipal League for the Pay Your Taxes Campaign National Committee, of which Sanders Shanks, Jr., is chairman. The first pamphlet, issued in December, is entitled "Improved Assessment Technique," and gives in popular form a picture of a modern tax assessing system. Later pamphlets in the series, which will appear at about monthly intervals, will deal with statistics on tax collections, tax receivership laws, penalty reductions and remissions, discounts, easy-or-installment-payment plans, etc., and the Model Tax Collection Law now being prepared by the League's Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Arnold Frye. Copies of the series will be mailed to all members of the League, and limited quantities will be available for distribution to interested groups for study or program purposes.

Publication of the Pay Your Taxes Cam-

paign Information Bulletin will be continued, current developments in local campaigns and data of local use being included in these mimeographed issues. League members whose local governments are facing acute tax collection problems are urged to avail themselves of these and other materials published for the Pay Your Taxes Campaign in working with local officials.

*

A delinquent tax bureau to coördinate the work of collecting delinquent real estate taxes, personalty taxes, special assessments, and other charges, has recently been created by Roanoke, Virginia, according to the *Municipal Finance News Letter.*

*

The same source reports that Lexington, Kentucky, had collected 93 2/3 per cent of its taxes for 1934 before the penalty was applied on November 1—the best record in many years for this city.

*

A committee of the New York State Conference of Mayors is considering submitting a bill to the legislature which will give municipalities power to appoint a board which would have authority to compromise the payment of taxes and penalties on property whose value is less than the total delinquent taxes, assessments, penalties, and interest. The conference also agrees that serious consideration should be given to the reinstatement of a bill giving municipalities power to appoint tax receivers for delinquent property.

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The Texas League of Municipalities was among those who waged a strenuous, but unsuccessful, fight to prevent passage of a bill making mandatory the remission of interest and penalties on taxes that were delinquent on August 1, 1934.

*

Dade County and Miami, Florida, tax collections for city, state, and county were approximately $543,000 ahead of 1933 in November 1934. City Auditor William Tracey reported that the percentage of current levy collections was the highest in thirteen years. The percentage for November this year was 26.82 as compared with 15.04 last year, according to *The Bond Buyer.*

*

A suggested financial resolution for the New Year, made by the Citizens Research Institute of Canada: "That the machinery of tax collection will be examined and kept in such working order that no one able to pay his taxes for the support of community services shall postpone or escape payment thereof."

*

New York City's tax collections for the second half yearly deadline amounted to $155,445,653, Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick announced recently. This compares with $138,857,011 for the same period last year. Due dates were moved up one month this year, second installments being payable before November 1 this year as against December 1 last year. Collections for the first half in 1934 were about $20,000,000 greater than for the first half in 1933.

*

First item on the four-point legislative program of the Taxpayers' Forum of Pennsylvania is "collection of all local taxes by a single agency in each county (probably the county treasurer), and payment of yearly salaries instead of fees to such officials". A sub-point to be pressed also is "elimination of mandatory separate assessment of property for cities and counties. One assessment to answer all purposes." Other phases of the program are equally constructive.

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According to *Forestry News Digest,* what to do with forest land that has reverted to public ownership through tax delinquency is a problem vexing many of our states. Of nearly 20,000,000 reverted acres in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas, some 12,272,000 is forest area. The problem is being studied by the Forest Service in coöperation with the states.

*

If fifty cities in New York State could collect all the taxes now in arrears, they could run their governments for nearly half a year without levying any tax, or they could pay 17 per cent of their net funded debt, according to Mayor Otto of New Rochelle, president of the New York State Mayors' Conference.

*

Modernization loans secured through the Federal Housing Administration's home renovation program cannot be used to pay taxes, according to a recent release from Washing-

ton. Lending institutions are to be allowed to exercise their own judgment as to whether they will advance funds when the applicant has taxes in arrears.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

Brazil Adopts P. R.—Article 23 of the new constitution of Brazil, adopted July 16, 1934, provides that "The Chamber of Deputies is composed of representatives of the people, elected by means of a proportional system and universal suffrage, equal and direct, and of representatives elected by the professional organizations, in the form which the law indicates."[1]

The electoral code, promulgated February 26, 1932, to which the new constitution conforms, provides (article 56): "The system of election shall be that of direct universal suffrage, secret ballot and proportional representation." Apparently this provision applies to state and municipal as well as federal elections.

Article 58 of the code describes in detail the system of P. R. to be used, a party list system rather heavily weighted in favor of the largest party. The quota is determined by dividing the total vote by the number to be elected in the district and each party is apportioned as many seats as its vote contains quotas, but any remaining seats are assigned on the majority principle.

Lists of candidates, headed in each case by a party name, and independent candidates are nominated by petition of one hundred or more electors not less than five days before election. A candidate may be nominated on more than one list.

On election day the voter casts a single vote for the first (proportional) assignment of seats and a number of votes up to the number of places to be filled for the majority assignment of any seats remaining. He does so by depositing a printed or typewritten list (with or without a party name) which he brings to the polls with him. The first name on the voter's list indicates a vote for that candidate and for his party in the proportional assignment. The remaining names indicate votes for those candidates in the majority assignment. The first name may be repeated for this second part of the ballot.

The proportional part of the election disregards all but the first name on each voter's list. If a candidate has been nominated by one party only, all votes cast for him count for that party. If he has been nominated by more than one, each party gets the benefit only of those of his votes which are definitely marked for it, but the candidate is credited personally with his total regardless of party designations.

Every candidate who polls the quota is declared elected. Then each party is allotted one seat for each quota in its total vote. If fewer than that number of its candidates have received individual quotas, those of its remaining candidates who have received the greatest total numbers of personal votes are declared elected to represent the party. If by this process the same candidate would be elected on more than one party, his election is credited only to that party on which he has received most votes.

The majority part of the election simply totals the personal votes of all candidates and elects those not already elected whose totals are highest. It is unlike the usual majority systems in that ordinarily each voter will have more votes counted than there are places to be filled in that part of the election.

The defeated candidates of a party fill party vacancies automatically in the order of the size of their votes.

In the elections of the federal Chamber of Deputies each state elects one deputy for each 150,000 inhabitants up to a maximum of twenty, and above that one for each 250,000. The federal district elects on the same basis and the territories elect two deputies each.

The professional representation in the Chamber of Deputies is limited to one-fifth the number elected from the states and the federal district by the modified form of P. R. Six-sevenths of the professional representation is divided equally among the categories of (1) agriculture and stock-raising, (2) industries, and (3) commerce and transport. The categories are further divided into specific

[1]From a "Complete Text of the Brazilian Constitution of 1934 done into English (together with new and revised version, in English, of the text of the Brazilian Constitution of 1891, as amended in 1926)" by Ernest Hambloch, F.R.G.S., formerly First Commercial Secretary to the British Embassy, Rio de Janeiro.

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occupational groups, with one employer and one employee representative from each. The other seventh of the professional representation goes to the liberal professions and public officials, with subdivisions electing one member each.

A special electoral judiciary is set up to apportion deputies to the states and to prevent election contests from coming before the Chamber of Deputies. Such a contest, it will be remembered, was the immediate cause of the revolution of 1930.

The first elections under the new constitution were held October 14, 1934. No account of these elections is yet available, but Samuel T. Lee, the American Consul General at Rio de Janeiro, to whom we are indebted for all the information in this article, under date of October 27 writes: "If one were called upon to select a single act of the Provisional Government (set up by the revolution of 1930) which meets the most widespread approval in Brazil, the choice would undoubtedly fall on the electoral code."

*

Prospects in Pennsylvania.—The dramatic overturn in Pennsylvania in the November elections has greatly brightened the outlook for the optional proportional representation and city manager legislation which a widely representative Municipal Charter Committee of Pennsylvania has been actively pushing for several years.

In addition to a growing amount of Republican support, the committee's program of bills received at the last session of the legislature the united and earnest backing of the Democratic minority. Now the Democrats have elected the governor and a majority in the state house of representatives. In the senate, half of whose membership holds over, the Democrats have 19 seats out of 50, but since eight of the Republican senators have declared definitely for the program in the past and several others are expected to be friendly, a majority seems in sight in the upper house also. A number of the senators and representatives just elected gave their personal assurances of support in reply to letters sent to all the candidates before the primaries last spring.

Plans are under way for the re-introduction of separate optional bills for Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, backed by strong local committees, and also optional bills for all third-class cities and boroughs.

*

P. R. Proposed for Cuyahoga County, Ohio.—At the December 12 meeting of the Cuyahoga County Charter Commission Edward T. Doty, one of the two members of the commission whose personal popularity broke the generally successful slate of the civic groups, introduced a resolution calling for a county council of nine elected at large by P. R. and a county executive elected by the corresponding Hare system of preferential voting.

Cuyahoga County includes the city of Cleveland, which used P. R. for its city council elections from 1923 to 1931, only to lose it as an incident in a general reactionary charter revision. Cuyahoga is one of the four counties which elected good charter commissions on November 6, under the new Ohio county home rule amendment, the others being Hamilton, which includes Cincinnati; Lucas, which includes Toledo (the latest acquisition to the list of P. R.-manager cities); and Mahoning, which includes Youngstown.

In connection with county government P. R. has a special advantage in addition to those it offers for cities. It avoids the ticklish problem of districting to satisfy the local pride of numerous municipalities by making it possible to elect at large with the assurance of representation to any large geographical minority which wants it.

*

India and Burma.—In connection with recent discussions of home rule in India the following statement published by the British P. R. Society in May 1934, is of interest: "One of the most difficult problems of self-government in India is that of representation of its people, diverse as they are in race and religion. The British Government, in the absence of agreement among the chief interests concerned, but with the full concurrence of some of them, have had recourse to the communal plan, whereby each important community elects its own representatives; in some respects this method operates as a crude form of proportional representation, but there are many strong objections.

"In addition, the Government has agreed to accept the Poona Agreement between Mr. Gandhi and the Depressed Classes—the lowest castes amongst the Hindus—for the better

representation of the latter. Under the Poona Agreement, representatives of the high caste Hindus and of the Depressed Classes are to be chosen from joint electorates in plural-member constituencies, the method of election being the single non-transferable vote [a crude form of P. R.]. It was apparent that the method for giving effect to the Poona Agreement had not been fully worked out, and the Society submitted a memorandum upon the question to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

"The Government's 'Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform' are embodied in a White Paper (Cmd. 4268, 1933). They include the use of the single transferable vote system of proportional representation for the Federal Senate of India, and also for any Upper Houses which may be constituted in Provincial Legislatures. The whole of the proposals are now under review by a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament.

"A scheme of constitutional reform for Burma has also been laid before the Joint Select Committee. It proposes an Upper House for Burma consisting partly of nominated members and partly of elected members. The scheme leaves open the method of election to be used, but the Government of Burma, in a memorandum on the scheme, expresses the view that 'the most suitable method is indirect election of members of the Upper House by members of the Lower House voting in accordance with the principle of the single transferable vote.'"

*

The Annual P. R. Dinner.— The fourteenth annual meeting and dinner of the Proportional Representation League Incorporated, the third since the union of its work with that of the National Municipal League, was held in the William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, on November 27, at the close of the National Conference on Government. Approximately one hundred members and friends of the League were present, including delegates from twenty-one cities and ten states. The League's president, Professor A. R. Hatton of Northwestern University, presided.

With the president, Thomas Raeburn White (vice-president), C. G. Hoag (honorary secretary), J. Henry Scattergood, and Albert B. Maris, all of Philadelphia, and Professor Paul H. Douglas, of the University of Chicago, were re-elected trustees of the League. Henry Bentley, chairman of the City Charter Committee of Cincinnati, was elected the seventh trustee to replace the late Dr. Rayner W. Kelsey of Haverford, Pa.

The field secretary of the League, Walter J. Millard, and its executive secretary, George H. Hallett, Jr., then reported on the significant developments in the P. R. movement in this country during the year, including the vote of the recently abolished New York City charter commission to submit P. R. to a vote of the people and the prospect that its successor will follow suit, the recommendation of the Boston charter commission that P. R. be made optional for the Boston city council, the movement to secure P. R. and the manager plan in Seattle temporarily blocked by the courts, and the intention of leaders of the successful city manager forces in Schenectady to follow up their victory with a campaign to capture the city council and submit a P. R. charter amendment by council action.

Other encouraging developments were emphasized in the addresses which followed:

"The Prospects of Optional P. R.-City Manager Legislation in the Next Pennsylvania Legislature," by State Senator-elect William B. Rodgers of Pittsburgh, former chairman of the Pittsburgh P. R.-city manager committee.

"P. R. and the City Manager Plan in Cleveland and the Outlook for their Return," by former City Manager William R. Hopkins. (See page 27.)

"The Victory of P. R. and the Manager Plan in Toledo," by Martin S. Dodd, former Law Director of Toledo and former Speaker Pro Tempore of the Ohio House of Representatives.

The meeting was pervaded by a spirit of hope for the future of P. R. as the *sine qua non* of truly representative government.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

Edited by Robert M. Paige

Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware.—For several months the League has been giving its attention chiefly to a study of the fiscal operations and condition of the state government. Due to the falling off of

revenues in recent years, the general fund of the state is operating at a substantial annual loss. To meet this problem, the League, in coöperation with state officials and interested citizens, is endeavoring to develop a plan through the reorganization of revenues of other funds, to replenish the general fund without any increase in taxation. The plan also involves various economies and improvements in state administration.

When this plan is fully developed, the League will undertake a campaign of education to crystallize public opinion in its favor.

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Finance Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.—The Chamber is now conducting a referendum among its membership on the federal budget system. Propositions being voted upon include a series of proposals for changes in federal budgetary practice looking toward greater efficiency in budgetary administration. The results of the referendum will be made known early in December.

A report is now in preparation by the Chamber's committee on federal finance on federal fiscal affairs with particular reference to the problems which will confront the Administration and Congress when the 1936 budget is acted upon this winter.

A report on state and local budgetary practices has been prepared by the Chamber's committee on state and local taxation and expenditures and will be available for distribution in the near future.

The committee is now preparing reports on controlling local indebtedness, and on tax limitations and control, to be ready early in 1935.

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Tennessee Taxpayers Association.—The Association substantially increased its activities in 1934. The staff was materially enlarged; the budget was increased by more than sixty per cent; the office space occupied was quadrupled; an effective field representative was added to the staff to increase the financial support, organize county and local units of taxpayers, and publicize the activities of the Association; and several additional research accountants and helpers were employed throughout most of the year and a combined librarian and analyst was added to the staff on September 1.

During the first four months of the year the Civil Works Administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority provided the services of fourteen research workers for the purpose of making field studies and surveys of county government in the Tennessee River Valley as part of an extensive program for the collection of basic data in the fields of education, economics, government, and sociology. These workers were supervised by the staff of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association. This program was developed and adopted by the TVA-CWA executives after calling into conference the research men of twenty-four southern universities and of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association. Studies of county government were thus made in twelve Tennessee counties. These studies included complete analyses of the income, expenditures, indebtedness, management technique, etc.

After the appropriation for the various social studies financed by the TVA-CWA was exhausted on April 30, the Tennessee Taxpayers Association added several persons to its own staff of field and office workers and continued its studies and reports upon local government. Twenty-five counties will have been surveyed by the Association at the close of 1934. The counties studied include Hamilton and Knox, two of Tennessee's four large-city counties. Conferences with county officials and with representative taxpayers before beginning a county survey, other conferences after the reports are ready for presentation, county-wide publicity of the findings and recommendations, and the presentation of the reports to the county court by an executive of the Association in person are all included in the procedure regularly used by the Association in attempting to secure official approval of the recommendations made. This procedure has proved to be highly effective.

The Association continues to make its annual survey of the state government. The report covering its third such survey, ready in December 1934, presents in parallel columns a detailed breakdown of the state's income, expenditures, indebtedness, etc., for 1932, 1933, and 1934. The annual report, from its first issue, became the financial handbook of the members of the executive and legislative branches of government in Tennessee.

The Association by request has made an extended study of recently enacted state sales taxes. A legislative program is now being prepared for the consideration of the 1935 state legislature. Various smaller studies have been conducted during the year on such subjects as self-insurance of municipal properties, conditions which caused surety companies to withdraw from bonding county officials in most Tennessee counties, procedure in the office of the state purchasing agent, a comparison of personnel employed in the state offices in June 1932 and June 1934.

In November, following the appearance of the "County Government" issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW in October, the Association decided as an educational and promotional measure to send the REVIEW for one year to a select list of editors of Tennessee daily and weekly newspapers and to the editors of thirty-six metropolitan dailies in other southern states. Already there has been gratifying editorial response, from newspapers both inside and outside Tennessee.

The Association has offered to supply classes in economics, political science, civics, etc., in the 415 public and private high schools and in the colleges of the state with copies of the Association's survey reports as made, for use as classroom aids in the study of government. Over one-third of the schools have accepted this offer and are now using these reports. A similar service is being provided for the study courses of the various units of the State Association of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and the Tennessee Federation of Women's Clubs.

During December the Association will hold institutes of government in Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Jackson, and a final delegated institute for the entire state in Nashville. Some nationally recognized authorities in their several fields are expected to address each of these gatherings. Attendance will include members-elect of the 1935 state legislature, representatives of county, city and town government, interested citizens and taxpayers.

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Los Angeles County Bureau of Efficiency.—The Bureau has recently completed a survey of the department of county surveyor. The report outlines in complete detail the duties and activities of this department and each of its divisions. The department is employing approximately one-half as many persons now as it employed during the peak year, 1929. The fluctuations in personnel in each division during the past ten years have been compared with numerous indices of the volume of work done during these same years. These comparisons show that the organization of working forces in the department has been in general excellent. Costs have been held as low as possible, consistent with high grade work. Certain changes in organization, including the absorbtion of the assessment division into the main office division and the merging of the sanitation division with the storm drain and construction division were recommended as a result of the survey, and these changes have now been made. These consolidations and certain other recommended changes will save an additional $22,000 a year, according to estimates of the Bureau.

C. R. Jones, staff member of the Bureau of Efficiency, working under the direction of Harry Scoville, director of the Bureau, compiled the report.

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Pennsylvania Economic Council.—An intensive study of the cost of township government in Chester County has just been completed. This county contains more townships than any county of the commonwealth, although Chester is not one of the large counties of the state. The report treats of these fifty-seven townships and presents in terms of maximum, minimum, average, and median such data as population, assessed valuation, tax rates, tax collections, highway mileage, taxable resources, indebtedness, amount of road machinery, and per capita expeditures. As 82 per cent of township funds are needed for maintenance and construction of township roads and debt payments on road bonds, almost half of the report deals with township highway problems. Maintenance costs per mile of road vary from $12 to $312. The reasons for these variations—varying resources of townships, types of road surface, topography, etc.—are analyzed at some length.

In conclusion the report points out the need for better annual township reports, a uniform classification of expenditures, and a clear distinction between highway "maintenance" and highway "construction" recognized by all township officials. The need for

financial planning, sound debt policies and adequate debt administration, vigorous tax collection campaigns, and a possible revision in the present law relating to state assistance in road maintenance are also pointed out and discussed in considerable detail in the summary chapter.

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California Taxpayers' Association.—A study of the problem of a state police system of California was recently published by California Taxpayers' Association. With organized crime recognizing no government boundaries, the Association points out that the problem calls for the organization of the police forces of California on at least a state-wide administrative basis. This state-wide organization should consolidate specialized state enforcement agencies, take over the criminal duties of sheriffs, coöperate with, but not replace, city police departments, and have police power in all parts of the state. It should not be used in labor disputes except where violence has occurred and then only at the call of the governor. Coöperation with city police departments and officers in metropolitan areas should be insured. Its personnel should be well equipped, trained in a police school. It should be commanded by an executive who is free from political interference and it should not be subject to corrupt local influences.

The Association is now engaged in a study to determine what constitutional and statutory changes are necessary in order to establish an appropriate state police system.

An analysis of the relationship of taxable wealth, bonded debt, and population to municipal expenditures, among a group of cities in the United States, has just been completed by the Association.

Studies of the problems of social insurance, including specifically the problems of compulsory unemployment insurance and compulsory health insurance, have been undertaken by the Association.

"With the stork on strike, we cannot expect increases in school population" is the conclusion of the Association's study of the enrollment of elementary school districts in California. The study, which comprised 73 per cent of all the elementary children in the state, enrolled in 132 elementary school districts, showed that there was a decrease of 0.7 per cent in the number of pupils enrolled during September of 1934 as compared with the same month of 1933. The Association points out that, although the child population is decreasing, the total population of California is increasing, the increase in large part being made up of people above school age.

EDITORIALS

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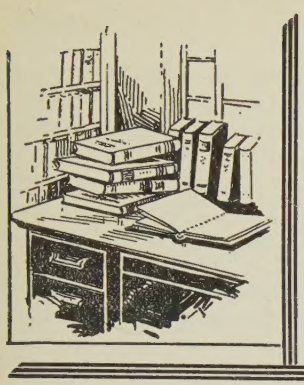
Getting Rid of the Bootlegger

Another significant contribution to the solution of the liquor problem in America is the report prepared by Dr. Paul Studenski, associate professor of economics at New York University, for the League's Committee on Liquor Control Legislation, and published as a supplement to this issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

The bootlegger is still with us. That fact cannot lightly be shrugged aside; neither can the fact that for the most part liquor tax policies have been anti-social in their obvious favoritism for hard liquor at the expense of milder beverages. As the committee report emphasizes, America must face the economic reality that the only way in which to drive the bootlegger out of business is to reduce taxes on liquor. Once he is gone, consideration may be given to the matter of making liquor consumption turn a golden flow into the public purse. For the present, whether we like it or not, high taxes on liquor simply won't work!



RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

EDITED BY EDNA TRULL

Government and Business. By Ford P. Hall. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934. 265 pp. $2.50.

Aptly does the author introduce this timely study with a brief, incisive essay on the theories of state function relative to economic life: anarchism, individualism, collectivism, socialism, and communism. Since American life is now rather definitely at the third stage mentioned, students should welcome this timely analysis and appraisal.

The constitutional limitations such as judicial review, division of powers, due process of law, and obligation of contract tend to hamstring effective regulation of business in a collectivist society. Against these limitations on effective control, Congress possesses a wide grant of authority through the commerce power which, as business tends to constitute one national current, must be interpreted and applied accordingly. The author scores that diversity in regulation of commerce which descends to state "competition in laxity" illustrated by relaxation of corporation laws as an inducement to furthering business in the particular states.

Extensive treatment is devoted to transportation, especially the railroads; the author holds that efficiency of transportation regulation requires that all means of carriage be brought under control. Little federal regulation has been applied to some of the minor agencies of communication, and none to interstate motor carriers. State efforts at regulation of motor transportation are sketched, and state control of other public utilities and insurance companies is outlined.

Relative to banking, the author admits that more comprehensive regulation has been instituted in the United States than elsewhere; pertinently is it added that the recent condition of banking is not due to an excess of regulation, rather to too little regulation especially manifest in the ease with which the irresponsible and inefficient have entered the banking business. Realistically does he state that "with our lack of good traditions the necessity for extensive control of banking is obvious, for banking is a business affected with a public interest."

Control of business through NRA codes extends regulation earlier instituted relative to railroads, food and drugs, stockyards, and radio. The Recovery Act marks the beginning of economic planning urged by economists and some industrial leaders prior to 1933. Both economic and social desirability warrant the Securities Act and the Stock Exchange Act.

Succinctly does the author encompass the range and inevitability of government policy toward economic enterprise past, present, and future by his introduction to a concluding chapter: "If laissez faire and government regulation cannot solve our economic difficulties, the only alternative is government ownership and operation of industry." No sober conservative could object to such a deferential statement.

Singularly free from the earmarks of propaganda, "Government and Business" avoids alike the antediluvian and utopian, and embodies the constructively liberal in viewpoint, maintains a balanced judgment, and contributes to the modernizing of the material and approach employed in a field not so highly debatable as heretofore.

JOHN J. GEORGE
Rutgers University

English Local Government. By Herbert Finer, D. Sc. New York, Columbia University Press, 1934. 533 pp. $5.50.

A great many descriptive accounts of English local government have been presented to the American student of politics during the last few years. Most of them have succeeded in conveying to the reader a fairly good picture of how the English system of local government is set up. Seldom are controversial questions raised. In view of the momentous problems confronting the English public in this sphere in recent years, one doubts whether the writers of some of our standard works have ever been in England.

It is refreshing to read a treatment of English local government which cares little about describing the inane formalities of statutory prescriptions but tackles the more interesting and infinitely more difficult problem of answering the question why. Dr. Finer presents for the reader an analytical study of English local government. He departs from the conventional descriptive approach to the subject and plunges into the task of dissecting one by one the powers, agents, and functions of English local government.

Undoubtedly the reader who has not had a previous introduction to the study of the English local institutions would be confused by Dr. Finer's approach. Even the arrangement of the material differs radically from the usual. The book is divided into five parts: the nature and problems; areas and functions; constitution, powers and organization; the central-local relationship; and the finance of local government. This plan of attack enhances greatly the value of his keen analysis. For the newer student of English government it may be disturbing but he assumes that one has a certain amount of background for understanding a work of this type. In the unwinding of the threads of this critical analysis one does not get a pat little diagram of the organization of the local governmental system of England but he does become fully aware of its enormous importance and the complexity of its workings. Consequently, one sees not the picture of still life hung on the wall but rather a great multitude of human beings moving about in every corner of the land performing a great variety of tasks in a more or less systematic way.

In a single volume Dr. Finer has covered the whole sphere of English local government. After carefully weighing the forces that enter into this notion which is implied by the expression *local government* one conclusion emerges as controlling. The author is convinced that the existing units of local government are too small for handling expeditiously and economically the multitude of activities now entrusted to the care of the various local authorities. Concerning the many functions of which he treats, he does not offer any definite conclusion as to how each should be cared for. But, if his one conclusion is allowed, namely, that existing units are too small and that some large area or region should be created, it is conceivable that the allocation of functions will largely take care of itself.

This book should be of special importance to the American student of local government. England faces a serious problem. Should the special district system be continued and expanded, or should larger areas with general powers be created? America has found that the creation of *ad hoc* authorities may have shortcomings and is now seeking newer methods of meeting the problems of local administration. What will England do? Dr. Finer does not dogmatize but he thinks that the evidences of centralization are unmistakable and that the sanest solution, therefore, is regionalism. In arriving at a conclusion concerning the similar tendencies in our own country, students of the subject will find this book invaluable as a background.

Raymond Uhl
Bureau of Public Administration,
University of Virginia

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City Government in the United States. By Charles M. Kneier. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1934. 482 pp. $3.00.

Professor Kneier's latest volume is a pertinent addition to the textbook field in local government. He emphasizes government rather than administration. There is practically no discussion of municipal functions, and perhaps even more attention than in most texts to the social and psychological aspects of urban life. Not quite one-third of the entire volume is devoted to the electorate and its organization. A little more than one-third is concerned with the organiza-

tion of city government, administrative and judicial organization, and "the integration of local governments." The remainder of the book considers the population and social changes in urban life, city-state relations, political, constitutional, and administrative, and municipal powers and liability. There is an interesting chapter in this section dealing with the "relation of national government and cities"—about the first attempt in a textbook to coördinate the materials on this increasingly important aspect of centralization.

While Professor Kneier's book follows in the main traditional lines, it is interesting to find more emphasis upon the effects of shifting population patterns upon administration as well as upon government; an emphasis, however, which might well be greatly enlarged to the advantage of the student's insight into the motivating forces in contemporary urban life. Neither in the chapters dealing with the growth of cities and its political consequences, nor in those dealing with party organization and "invisible government in cities" is there any significant recognition of the underlying forces, such as bank control of franchise policy, real estate domination of planning programs, and the like, which, in the long run, and generally also in the short, define the limits of political and administrative action. Nor are the underlying issues of the poverty line in cities, in terms of the almost unwavering support of bosses and machines by the rank and file of voters in the poorer wards, brought into the focus of the student's attention.

But to say this is to say that so far we have not broken away from the formal aspects of government in college courses, in order to make visible to the student the hidden forces that control the formal machinery which provides a respectable facade to the workings of "actual government." A textbook written from this point of view, whether for the general reader or the student, would be as pertinent as it would be lively. It is greatly to be hoped that such a study will be made of the very problems which Professor Kneier has here discussed. In the meantime, his is the most current of the texts, includes much useful illustrative material and carefully selective reading lists, is written in an interesting and readable style, and should prove useful for semester courses in local government.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY
Amherst College

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The Units of Government in the United States. By William Anderson. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1934. 38 pp. Fifty cents.

Part I of this pamphlet, entitled "The Present Situation," makes two distinct contributions to political science. The first is theoretical, a "tentative" definition of a unit of government. Applying this definition to the numerous governmental areas in each state enabled the author to classify and enumerate the units of government in the United States. This is an important factual contribution. Hereafter we can use Professor Anderson's estimate instead of saying "nobody knows", or making or repeating a wild guess.

Professor Anderson finds a total of 175,418 units. He classifies them as one nation, forty-eight states, 3,053 counties, 16,366 cities and villages, 20,262 towns and townships, 127,108 school districts, and 8,580 other units.

The "other units" include such special districts as water control, irrigation and conservation, road and bridge, urban improvement, urban utility, and several miscellaneous ones. Concerning them, the author says: "The truth is that no one really knows in any state how many of these special units there are". He explains that the "26,433 special districts", as indicated by the Census Bureau, include many "areas" which do not conform to his definition, and hence are merely administrative districts.

In Part II the author discusses the historical development of the present units; the arguments for "trade area" units and local self-government; and the most desirable area and population for local units. He would have only one local unit in any rural territory, instead of overlapping ones.

Part III presents the author's conclusions regarding the most desirable number of local units. He would retain 2000 counties as units in rural areas, eliminating school districts, townships, and all but 500 special districts. He would create 350 city-county units

for urban centers of over 25,000 population. He would retain 15,000 units for cities, villages, and the larger New England towns, eliminating smaller towns through consolidation.

Thus, his "rationalized scheme of local government units" would reduce the number from 175,369 to 17,850, or by almost 90 per cent. Of course, his scheme is suggested merely as a goal, without indicating ways and means of attaining it.

In contrast to certain so-called *experts*, Professor Anderson does not advocate wholesale consolidation of counties. He does advocate the abolition of smaller units, the crux of the problem. Perhaps the more vociferous advocates of county consolidation do not know that smaller units exist! Nor does the writer claim that eliminating 90 per cent of the present units would reduce local governmental expenses by 90 per cent.

In brief, the bulletin is filled with useful information, concisely and logically analyzed. It deserves careful reading and study, especially by students of local government. It is entirely different from most of the available material in this field, much of which has been half-baked.

WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW
University of Missouri

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Wisconsin Taxes—Where They Come From and Where They Go. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, 1934. 72 pp.

In its attempt to make the average citizen of Wisconsin tax conscious, the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance has produced an excellent little volume—they call it a reference book—on public finance in one state. By means of tables, charts, and explanatory text the various tax sources are analyzed and public expenditures described. The booklet is not an unreasonable demand for tax reduction, but a relatively objective presentation of facts. Concluding, as taxpayers' associations inevitably do, that taxes should be reduced, the Wisconsin bulletin expresses the opinion that carefully planned expenditure control is the only method by which taxes may be wisely reduced and states that "Efficient control of expenditures does not mean blind limitation of taxation, but implies careful study and long-time planning—setting governmental machinery in order—to have it of the best possible design to cope with modern needs." This statement gives the key to the fact that the study is not only a presentation of figures, but a sound exposition on their use.

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A Study of Municipal Auditoriums of Buffalo, N. Y. Buffalo, Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., 1934. 20 pp. mimeo. Fifty cents.

The city of Buffalo owns and operates two auditoriums. This brief study points out that they are unprofitable and proposes that one be closed. The other, it suggests, should be put in the hands of an experienced manager whose duties would be both promotional and custodial.

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Slums—a City's Most Expensive Luxury. By Howard Whipple Green. Cleveland, Published by the Author, 1934. 8 pp. $1.00.

This is a brief description of the Cleveland slum area with data on operating costs and social and health conditions. The story is emphasized by an ingenious system of overlay maps over a basic map showing rentals in the various census tracts of the city. The statistics emphasize the title. It is unfortunate that in the demand for lowering governmental costs taxpayers have not been sufficiently far-sighted to realize that the existence of slum areas affords heavy—but largely reducible—drains on the public purse.

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A Survey of the General Civic Conditions of Colorado Cities Having a Population of 2,000 or More. By Edison H. Cramer. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1934. 31 pp.

Shortly after its organization in 1923 the Colorado Municipal League undertook a general civic survey of its municipalities. This was repeated five years later, in 1927, and the third similar study, based on 1932 reports, is now published. The thirty-two municipalities of the state are compared as to police departments, fire departments, street departments, health departments, libraries, public parks, water works, elections, street lighting, mill levies, bonded indebtedness, and municipal receipts and disbursements. The data are presented in tabular and graphic form. The author's analysis of the figures shows that since 1927 increased municipal service has occurred in practically all fields of service while municipal costs have remained about the same.